



A Big Year
For Business

November 1993 \$3.95 ●

California

Independent analysis of politics and government

JOURNAL

Gay Politics



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Native Californian

For 125 years
our promise has been our policy.



PACIFIC MUTUAL

800-800-7646

Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, 700 Newport Center Drive, Newport Beach, CA 92660. Pacific Mutual subsidiaries include: PM Group Life Insurance Company, Pacific Financial Asset Management Corporation (PFAMCO), Pacific Investment Management Company (PIMCO), PM Realty Advisors, Inc., Cadence Capital Management Corporation, NFJ Investment Group, Inc., Parametric Portfolio Associates, Inc., Blairlogie Capital Management Ltd., Pacific Equities Network, Mutual Service Corporation, United Planner's Group, Inc., Pacific Corinthian Life Insurance Company

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California

Independent analysis of politics and government

JOURNAL

Gay politics

8

Gay men and lesbians are moving into mainstream politics in more places than just San Francisco and West Hollywood.

By J.S. Taub

A clash of lifestyles

17

Tolerance for the gay lifestyle may be a fact of life in California's urban centers. Not so in its small towns.

By J.S. Taub



Jim Brulte

23

The Assembly's minority leader has received kudos for his handling of an often-fractious caucus and his relationship with Willie Brown.

By Steve Scott



A great year

27

The legislative session completed in September proved a boon for California business.

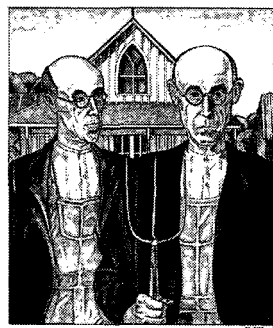
By Mary Beth Barber

Independent voters

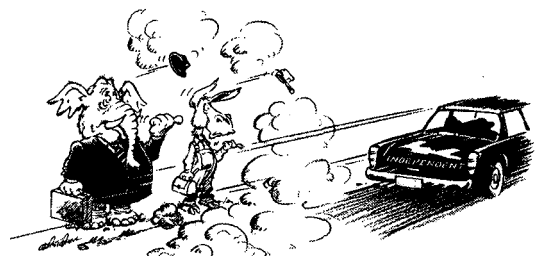
33

Over the past decade, more and more California voters have moved away from the Republican and Democratic parties.

By Chris Collet



Up Front	4
Two Cents	6
Rostrum	7
Notebook	37
Washington Perspective	38



Up Front

UMBAGE

Cue the jackhammer. You could almost hear the conversation among Governor Pete Wilson's crack media staff prior to last month's signing of a relatively obscure asset-management bill: "Hey! I've got a great idea! Let's do the signing out where they're building one of those new Sacramento state office building." Sure enough, there they were — Wilson, Speaker **Willie Brown Jr.** and a host of administration types just out of hard-hat range. A great event, if only anyone could have heard it. The din of construction noise was so deafening that reporters and dignitaries alike had to strain to hear. Wilson joked that the site had been chosen "for the benefit of the lip-readers in the news corps." Brown also complained about the noise, but he seemed particularly concerned about a peculiar dust which floated down over his smartly tailored duds. "I couldn't believe that," he grumped. "All that dust on my suit."

Clemency. Former state Senator Joe Montoya went before a judge recently to ask that he be let out of prison. Served enough time, Joe told Judge Milton Schwartz. Been a good prisoner. Exemplary behavior, and all that. No thanks, said Schwartz, who originally sentenced Montoya. The judge did reduce Montoya's sentence by six months, however — some two years short of the ex-senator's wish. Montoya is serving time after a federal court convicted him in August 1990 of corruption stemming from an FBI sting operation conducted at the Capitol. The former Whittier lawmaker was sent up for more than six years — a sentence being carried out at a desert facility in Boron. He is eligible for release in 1995.

Winners. Last month, we passed on a rumor that some Assembly Republicans were engaged in an informal contest to see who could vote "no" the most during the 1993 session. Well, there apparently are several winners. Andrea

Seastrand of San Luis Obispo cast the most *total* "no" votes, including floor and committee — 860. Bill Hoge of Pasadena cast the most "nos" on the floor, edging Ray Haynes of Murrieta 595-594. And then there are the folks who never saw a bill they didn't like. Democrats Dom Cortese of San Jose and Juanita McDonald of Carson voted "no" 18 and 17 times, respectively. Finally, there are the folks who couldn't make up their minds. Republican Ross Johnson of Fullerton and Democrat Barbara Lee of Oakland failed to vote at all on 28 percent of all floor votes.

Get lost. That's essentially what Governor Pete Wilson told *Money* magazine recently when its editors put together a survey on how well the nation's governors live on the public dole. *Money* reported in its October issue that most of the nation's state execs either refused to answer or were purposefully vague in responding to its inquiries. And it singled out Wilson for brushing aside what it called an "unflattering question" regarding a \$1.4 million lifetime pension, due Wilson when he leaves office. According to *Money* editor Frank Lalli, Wilson's office told the magazine, "It isn't worth the governor's time to talk about this." The magazine also pointed out that Wilson is one of 12 governors to make more than \$100,000 per year but is one of only five from that select dozen to take a voluntary pay cut. According to *Money*, Wilson is not the nation's most pampered governor. That title belongs to Democrat William Schaefer of Maryland, who costs his state's taxpayers \$2.3 million a year. The most frugal gov is Idaho Democrat Cecil Andrus, who lives in his own house in Boise. It isn't known where Wilson falls on that scale, however, since *Money* didn't rank the governors, merely pointed to Schaefer and Andrus as being first and last. Among the more interesting perks earned by a governor: \$1.2 million worth of tickets to

Oaklawn horse-racing track given each year to Arkansas' Democratic Governor Jim Guy Tucker, who inherited the job — and the tickets — from Bill Clinton.

Truce or consequences. The recent detente between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization isn't the only major truce of late. According to one political consultant close to the GOP, moderate and conservative Republicans won't be going to war with one another in 1994 legislative and congressional primaries. Instead, they'll practice Ronald Reagan's 11th Commandment — "Thou shalt not speak ill of another Republican." Apparently, the two camps learned a lesson from 1992, when they bloodied each other with hit pieces and drained their war chests in primaries, only to lose several key districts to Democrats. Of course, the most recent test of this truce produced a nasty special election primary in Senate District 4, where conservative Maurice Johannessen and moderate Bev Hansen savaged each other for months. Johannessen won. The victor, meanwhile, displayed a midas touch when it came to funding his campaign, following in the gilt-edged footsteps of GOP Congressman Michael Huffington of Santa Barbara. Huffington, you may remember, spent just short of \$65 gazillion of his own money to get himself elected to Congress in 1992. And he's gearing up to spend that much and more to wage war against Dianne Feinstein for the U.S. Senate in 1994. Now, campaign reports show that Johannessen dipped into his own ample pockets for \$449,000 in his successful primary crusade against Hansen and pending general election campaign against Democrat Montana Povda. He raised another \$40,500 from Allied Business PAC, the conglomeration of Orange County businessmen headed by GOP state Senator Rob Hurtt. As far as we can discover, few of the

candidate's would-be constituents contributed to his campaign.

Long Reach. The city of Long Beach suffered through riots last spring in the wake of the first Rodney King verdict and has qualified for state subsidies in an effort to rebuild areas torn up during the disturbance. But a map of Long Beach's proposed impact zone — where the subsidies would be in effect — includes other parts of the city as well. Like the area around a soon-to-be-closed Naval Hospital where city officials hope to build a huge shopping mall. And a posh area around the city's marina. Both are connected to the riot zone by the tenuous thread of a city street but actually are miles from the damaged neighborhoods. Neighboring cities like Lakewood are grumpy over what they see as the Long Beach reach and gladly supply maps of the proposal.

No good deed goes unpunished. Remember those lobbyists who rushed to the defense of Clay Jackson after he was indicted by federal prosecutors? Four of them — John Norwood, George Steffes, John Foran and Michael Kahl — signed a letter of support and formed a group to help raise money for Jackson's defense. Now, rumor has it, each has been subpoenaed to testify at Jackson's trial. The question is: Were they ordered in by the defense, or the prosecution? Donald Heller, Jackson's attorney, said both sides have issued subpoenas, but he refused to name names.

"Unless [human] rights have meaning [close to home], they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world."

— Eleanor Roosevelt

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smartalecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. We pay up to \$25 for entertaining tidbits published in "UP Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Ave, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.

Mussolini's legacy. The Italian dictator was lauded during the 1920s and '30s because he made his country's railroads run on time. Well, now comes GOP Assemblyman Mickey Conroy of Orange, who this year organized the Assembly's "on-time" committee to help improve the house's image by having floor sessions start when they were scheduled to start. Conroy reports success. In 1993, he says, the average session roared out of the station only 9.8

minutes late — a vast improvement over 1992, when the average session began more than 40 minutes late. Over the course of the year, 74.6 hours worth of delay was reduced to only 12.58 hours — a 500 percent improvement. The longest single delay in 1992 occurred on July 1st when a 2:00 PM session chugged to life at 4:50 PM, or 170 minutes behind schedule. The longest 1993 delay was a mere 49 minutes, which took place on Sunday evening, June 20th. 🏠

advertisement



WHAT WAS MARY JANE ADAMS DOING IN THE STATE CAPITOL AT 2:30 A.M. SATURDAY MORNING ?

Mary Jane and her fellow analysts are the heart and soul of Legi-Tech, California's *complete*, independent, computerized Legislative Bill Tracking service. Legi-Tech covers committee hearings and floor sessions, providing 24-hour service seven days a week.

Legi-Tech provides *complete*, on-line Legislative Bill tracking and information. You can access all data from your own computer within 24 hours of Bill Actions, *whenever* they occurred.

Legi-Tech reports are clear, timely and accurate, and allow you to set your own parameters to streamline

your research and reduce costs. Choose hourly rates or flat monthly fees.

Legi-Tech is user-friendly. In an hour or less, you can learn everything you need to know to navigate the logical Legi-Tech Database.

Call (916) 447-1886 for a complete demonstration.

THE WORLD MOVES TOO FAST TO SETTLE FOR SECOND BEST.

LegiTech

1029 J Street, Suite 450 Sacramento, CA 95814

Two Cents Worth

COMMENTARY

Tribes

European settlers were not alone on this continent when they first sloshed ashore. They shared what would become the United States with a host of tribes who were kept apart by the forests, rivers, lakes and mountains of the land itself. Iroquois, Shawnee, Sauk, Seminole, Pawnee, Mandan, Arapaho, Teton Sioux, Apache, Modoc and many others lived on separate and often shifting parcels of territory. There were alliances, occasional wars and skirmishes on the frontiers but, for the most part, the tribes went about their lives in relative harmony.

The settlers themselves were divided into tribes as well — English, German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Irish. But they shared common aspirations and a common vision and as a result knitted themselves into one new tribe. The experiment did not always work; witness the Civil War. But it did work often enough to produce a community of great social and scientific achievement.

Now, nearly 400 years after the first European settlements emerged along the Eastern seaboard, that larger community appears on the verge of shredding itself into quarrelsome tribes, each with an unwavering notion of the shape the community ought to take. Layered one atop the other, the hardened frontiers of these tribes are psychological and emotional. As a result, there is not much harmony among them these days.

The anti-tax tribe grouches that the community wastes too much money on those who don't pay taxes. The pro-voucher tribe demands the right to send its children to any public, private or religious school, with the community paying part of the tab. The teacher tribe insists that the community protect its jobs, dedicate a large chunk of revenue to its workplace and siphon the lion's share into the tribe's wallet. The business tribe prefers that the community subsidize its investments, secure its risks and butt out of its marketplace. The consumer tribe urges the community to meddle in the marketplace, even to the point of strangling business. The environmentalist tribe warns business never to spill a drop of oil or hack down an ancient tree. The insurance tribe insists

on guaranteed profits. Both anti-abortion and pro-choice tribes want everyone else to conform to their notions of morality. *Ad nauseam.*

It may be argued, for example, that a handgun has but one purpose — to kill or maim another human being. And it may also be argued that the community is better off if people do not have a ready means to kill each other. But the gun tribe resists even the suggestion that someone who wants to buy a handgun wait a few days before taking possession of it. It also may be argued that the community benefits if medical science is advanced through experimental surgery on rhesus monkeys. But the animal-rights tribe would rather blow up a veterinary lab than see this kind of research continue.

More and more Americans, it seems, have defined themselves in terms of these tribes. Brought together through narrow interest, anger, fear or distrust, each tribe demands that its agenda be adopted, completely. Lost is the ideal that decisions affecting everyone are best made through deliberation and compromise, not through the business end of a bullhorn. In the process, the perception of a community evaporates.

The community is all of us. As citizens of the world, as Americans, as Californians, we ply through life in a crowded canoe. One tribe cannot "win." No amount of education will substantially improve the quality of a person's life if half of California is functionally illiterate. No gated community will protect the rich from a social cataclysm if half of California's children go hungry. No amount of police will secure a California city steeped in unemployment and poverty — and armed to the teeth.

The glue that holds any community together is its political system, and the glue that binds the political system is the quality of its leadership. What gives leadership vibrancy and credibility is its deftness at unifying diverse tribes into a dynamic whole, where everyone wins a little and no one wins everything. To do this, leaders must define a vision for the community and evoke what has been called "the better angels of our nature."

So, you think you've got that in California?

Scary, ain't it? 🏠

— A.G. Block

California

Independent analysis of politics and government JOURNAL

Publisher
Thomas R. Hoeber

Editor
Richard Zeiger

Managing Editor
A.G. Block

Associate Editors
Danielle Starkey, Steve Scott

Assistant Editors
Mary Beth Barber, Laura A. Locke

Circulation
Sheryl Wood, Mary Foy

Art Director
Lise Vernasco

Art Staff
Scarlet Hong

Staff
Ana Hernandez

Washington Correspondent
Larry Liebert

Interns
Cheryl Hickey

Advertising Representative:
Media Marketing (916) 452-3242

Cover photo by Rich Pedroncelli

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts and Urban Affairs Abstracts. *California Journal* (ISSN00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, \$59.00; Corporations and Associations, \$95.00; Special Individual rate, \$34.95. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1993 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc., Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.

Rostrum

LETTERS

Immigration

If what commentator Tony Quinn says is true (see "Soapbox, *CJ*, October 1993), that "no border fortification can stop the flow; it's like the wind passing between high-pressure and low-pressure areas," then all countries in the Western Hemisphere will one day be as densely populated and as poor as the one country among them least willing or able to control its own fertility. This is not bashing or backlashing or scapegoating but rather something called "mathematics."

TOM ANDRES
Santa Barbara

Gun control

A large number of Americans interpret the right to bear arms to mean "any type, any place." Thus, citizens have the right to bear arms; nuclear weapons are arms; therefore, citizens have the right to bear nuclear weapons.

Okay, so this may be nonsense. There are limits on all rights, after all. For instance, free speech is limited because you cannot shout "fire" in a crowded theater. Also, the use of private property is limited by such things as zoning laws.

Perhaps we should zone the bearing of firearms. The bearing of handguns would be zoned in two places: home and firing ranges. They could be transported between places after notification of the police. Otherwise, possession of a handgun outside of those two zones would be a felony.

JIM HOOD, MD
Oxnard

California Journal welcomes your comments and opinions on articles that appear in the Journal. Please address all correspondence to Editor, *California Journal*, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Journal editors reserve the right to edit for space.

STATE NET®

& California

Independent analysis of politics and government JOURNAL

...the COMPLETE California Information System



In addition to the leading on-line California bill tracking system, *StateNet* provides a **comprehensive political and governmental research library** including:

- ✓ *California Journal* on-line (including back issues which are completely text-searchable);
- ✓ *Election Weekly* for 1992 including all candidates, analyses of the races and complete primary and general election results;
- ✓ Official press releases of key state officials including appointments, veto messages, and announcements;
- ✓ Initiatives and other ballot measures including currently pending measures and measures proposed and qualified since 1990;
- ✓ Committee and floor analyses of legislation (text-searchable);
- ✓ California and U.S. bills (text-searchable);
- ✓ California campaign contributions;
- ✓ California directories: legislative members and staff; executive branch; judicial branch; lobbyists and their employers; cities and counties; political action committees;
- ✓ Useful 50-state information including weekly status of other states' sessions, governors' messages and directory of legislators;
- ✓ And now *CJ Weekly* is available on-line to permit quick searching of back issues to find the references you need.

For more information and a free on-line demonstration call 916/444-0840.

State Net and California Journal:

The complete government and politics information access system.

Photo by Ricb Pedroncelli



GAY POLITICS

By J.S. Taub

***It was a sticky, sweaty New York City night
when the cops — on a routine prowl for vice
— hassled the wrong crowd at the Stonewall
Inn, a homosexual hangout in Greenwich Vil-
lage. It was June 27, 1969, and the news hit
the front page of the staid New York Times like
a novelty on a slow news night. Whoever
heard of a bunch of queers standing up to New
York's finest? The Stonewall riot, as it is now***

known kicked off the modern gay rights movement.

Fast-forward one generation and the headline on the front page of one of San Francisco's gay newspapers reads, "It's here. The year of the queer. Get used to it." The last line was in three-inch type.

In less than 25 years, gays have struggled to replace the stereotype that characterized them as closeted, unhappy, incomplete, shadowy individuals with a proud and positive activist identity. This attitude fuels political action and organizations like Act Up and Queer Nation. And it was the force behind San Francisco's controversial "Year of the Queer" gay freedom day theme celebrating the 24th anniversary of Stonewall.

The gay rights movement hit an apex with President Bill Clinton's effort to end the ban on gays in the military. That, combined with increasing integration of homosexuals into business and the popular culture, has inspired more visible political action on civil rights, domestic partnerships, anti-

discrimination and AIDS.

"Clinton's campaign for military service has had a direct effect," says David Mixner, Los Angeles gay activist and adviser to the president on gay issues. "We were the fringe, a sideshow in politics. We raised the money but were kept at arm's length. Now we are in the mainstream. We delivered for him, and now we are being taken seriously as a civil rights movement."

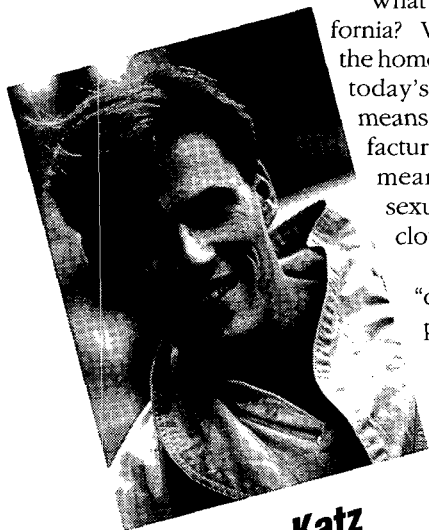
For California's urban-based gays, the path to increased political clout is elective office and key appointments. This is a world of sophisticated party politics, political infighting, shifting loyalties, betrayal, strategy and sometimes outrageous action. Urban gays, especially in Los Angeles and San Francisco, have embarked on a full-scale integration into the political mainstream, bankrolling gay candidates, forming coalitions and, in some cases, severing past alliances.

Increasingly, gay men and lesbian politicians say that the era of reliance on straight allies in government to speak for gay issues is over and that gays must now advance to take their place at the political table and start representing

J.S. Taub is a freelance writer from San Francisco.

themselves and other non-gay constituencies. Anything else, they insist, would be "plantation politics."

For many gays in California today, the issue is not simply holding hands in public. It's the threat of unemployment and violence and coping with the role AIDS has played in shrinking the gay political leadership and sapping creative sparks from the community.



Jonathan Katz

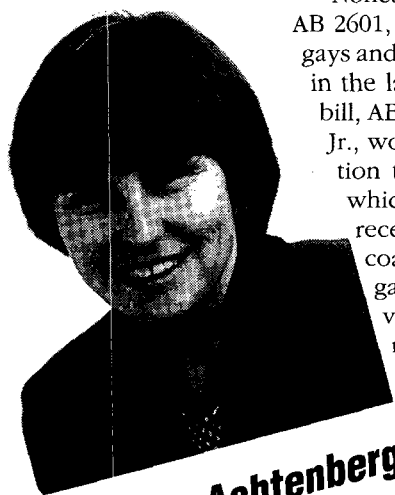
What is gay political clout in California? Visibility is the apotheosis of the homosexual rights movement. For today's urban-based gays, "out" means not having to falsely manufacture a straight lifestyle. "Out" means openly acknowledging sexual orientation. "Out" means clout.

For some, "out" also means "queer." If one is not completely straight, meaning exclusively heterosexual, then one is queer, some say. And those same folks would advise gays and straights alike to get used to it.

Says Queer Nation co-founder Jonathan Katz, a professor of gay studies at San Francisco City College, "Queerness doesn't constitute a single identity because sexuality is fluid. Examine the investment the dominant culture has in marginalizing sexual expression. What do we do with someone who is married and has homosexual experiences? There are no neat boundaries..."

In California, some homosexuals feel they still lack total protection under the law because they are excluded from the civil rights umbrella covering women, minorities, the aged and disabled. A gay civil rights bill, AB 101 by Democratic Assemblyman Terry Friedman of Los Angeles, was vetoed in 1991 by Governor Pete Wilson, a moderate Republican who, during his campaign, had pledged support for such a bill. The bill would have added anti-discrimination protections of gays into the Fair Employment and Housing code.

Nonetheless, another Friedman bill, AB 2601, was signed instead; it protects gays and lesbians against discrimination in the labor code. Another civil rights bill, AB 2199 by Speaker Willie Brown Jr., would restore a broad interpretation to the Unruh Civil Rights Act, which had been watered down by recent court rulings. Although a coalition bill, it is significant for gays because it would allow individual communities to establish more liberal anti-discrimination ordinances than does the state. A total of 17 California cities now have local anti-discrimination ordinances, including Berkeley, San Francisco, Los



Roberta Achtenberg

Angeles, Cathedral City, Cupertino, Oakland, Riverside, Sacramento, San Diego, Davis, Laguna Beach, Long Beach, Mountain View, San Jose, Santa Barbara, Santa Monica and West Hollywood.

A Gay Family Values Bill, AB 1581, also has been introduced by Oakland Democrat Barbara Lee, which would define domestic partners. Right now, only San Francisco, West Hollywood, Marin, Sacramento, Santa Cruz and Laguna Beach have enacted domestic partners registration, health-care benefits or other benefits for domestic partners of municipal workers. Domestic partners is a top priority for the gay community.

San Francisco and Los Angeles form a gay axis linking the southland to the north state. Northern California, with San Francisco as its flash point, remains a traditional center of leftist political action — home of the free-speech movement, hippies, the anti-war movement, the feminist movement. San Francisco gays wield hefty political clout within the Democratic Party. San Francisco homosexuals are among the most visible in the country, but it is a political community in transition and one that is beginning to recognize the diversity within its ranks.

"Part of the problem with the San Francisco gay and lesbian community is that it is very parochial, very tough," says Steve Kline, president of the city's Stonewall Gay Democratic Club.

"It's hard to break into the political circle if you didn't know Harvey [Milk] or you don't have his blessing. That's why radical activism and Queer Nation came into being. There is a generation gap, but there's a group that did not know Harvey." (Milk was the gay San Francisco activist who was elected to the Board of Supervisors, then murdered in 1978 along with Mayor George Moscone by former Supervisor Dan White.)

Moreover, while San Francisco's homosexual community is criticized by some as chaotic, Kline explains, "There was a breakdown among conservatives and liberals and different ethnicities and genders. We are a diverse community and we look for the homogeneous where there is none. In organizing you have to respect philosophical and ethnic diversity."

Nonetheless, Kline separates political influence from power and says the only way gays can build a power base is by electing gays to office. "We have to start electing our own. We can't rely on Mr. and Mrs. Straight no matter how liberal and progressive they are. They still don't understand what we have gone through, the process of coming out, of dying, the suicides. It's important for gays to be in the face of the Democratic Party; the Republicans don't let us in the room, the Democrats take us for granted. We need to be in their face more. At least we are being talked about," he says.

Nothing could illustrate gay clout in San Francisco better than conservative Mayor Frank Jordan's appointment of Susan Leal, a Latina lesbian health-care executive with no



Carole Migden

past experience in elective office, to Roberta Achtenberg's seat on the Board of Supervisors. Achtenberg was the first "out" lesbian to run for Assembly, a bitter campaign against now-Assemblyman John Burton, a gay rights supporter. She left the Board of Supervisors earlier this year to accept a post with the Clinton administration. "Appointing Susan Leal is recognition of our political strength," says Carole Migden, an "out" lesbian supervisor who chairs the board's budget committee.

Migden speaks for many gay Democrats who have accused their straight allies of taking them for granted. "The lesbian and gay community have been loyal Democrats and, as a voting bloc, our clout is unparalleled. But we have not been fostered, groomed, launched in the same way as other party regulars. We have not been picked out and pinpointed and assisted in the full range of our political potential," she says.

Assemblyman Burton argues that straight political allies are a big help. "It was straight politicians that legalized the gay and lesbian lifestyle, straight politicians that passed legislation to protect people with AIDS and HIV at a time when it was considered a gay issue," Burton says. "I don't subscribe to the view that you have to be a gay or lesbian to understand. Just like you don't have to be African-American to combat racial and economic injustice, or 70 years old to fight for the rights and dignity of senior citizens. That's their hang-up."

Indeed, betrayal can cut both ways, considering the significant loss of gay support for former San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos, a staunch advocate. "No one carried the rainbow flag in the straight community higher than Art Agnos," says Burton. "No one worked harder or more assiduously with the community. He introduced the gay rights bill while in the Assembly. He appointed gays to policy positions. But where did the opposition come from? It came from the gay clubs," says a perplexed Burton.

The answer, Migden says, is for gay politicians to develop their own alliances within the party structure. "That is the route to empowerment. We must take power. No one relinquishes power."

Migden is highly involved in broad-based political issues. As chair of the board's budget committee, she spearheaded the debate with a concentration on salvaging funds for public health and AIDS, rape and crisis counseling, mental-health programs and drug-treatment centers. San Francisco's gay leadership is encouraging her to run for mayor in 1995. She is also being eyed as a possible replacement for Willie Brown when the term limits end his tenure in the Assembly in 1996. By then, Brown, Burton and state Senator Milton Marks all will be forced from the Legislature.

"Willie Brown's seat could be a gay seat," Migden says. "Originally with reapportionment, the Democrats had thwarted the inter-

ests of the gay community, but the boys in Sacramento gave that back. A lesbian or gay person would have an excellent chance to be elected to office in that Assembly district."

Burton, who refuses to confirm or deny reports that he is considering a run for San Francisco mayor, says, "I wouldn't want to run against Carole."

If San Francisco is the heart of the gay movement, then Los Angeles is the power. San Francisco's soul mate to the south is wealthier, less ideological and more political. Angelenos are cool, strategic players under a self-imposed deadline to win political office by 1996. Southern California, influenced by the professional and entertainment industries, is not leftist, not politically correct and not ambivalent about money.

"LA has a different take on politics, and with San Francisco it's always how far on the left can you go. We represent the broad spectrum. We get smart, play hard ball, play votes and money," says John Duran, a West Hollywood civil rights attorney who was defeated in 1992 in a campaign for the 42nd Assembly District against incumbent Democratic Assemblyman Burt Margolin.

Money politics is exemplified by a fund-raising group called Access Now for Gay & Lesbian Equality (ANGLE), which raised \$800,000 for the Clinton campaign and funnels money to gay and lesbian candidates and selected heterosexual candidates.

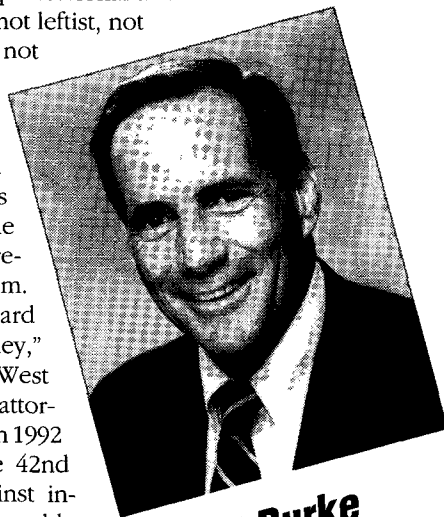
"Having other people represent your interest isn't acceptable," says Duran. "There have to be gays and lesbians on the finance committee, on the power commission, to be involved in the give and take of the political game. It's so easy for our allies to sell our issues down the river."

Los Angeles has a plan. With the redrawing of districts in the 1990 reapportionment, Los Angeles gay politicians predicted there would be no gays in elected positions beyond the local level. So in 1988, two years before legislative and congressional districts were to be redrawn, the Western Alliance of PACS conducted a survey to pinpoint who and where gay voters are and presented it to the Democratic Party leadership as evidence that they could win elective office. The reception was chilly.

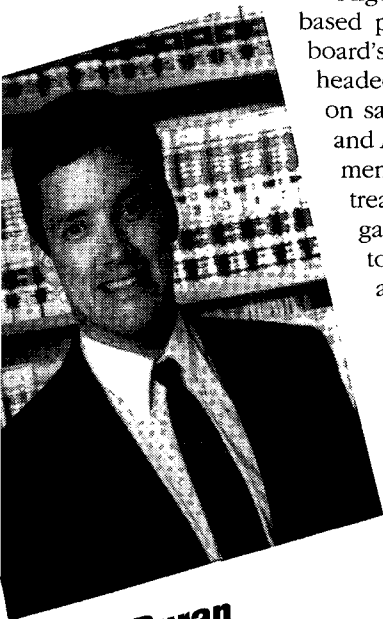
And the angry response was swift.

"We ran a quick and dirty 90-day campaign against Margolin," says Duran. "We were running to lose, but lose well. They did not consider us as viable candidates because we were a special-interest group. We felt we were being taken for granted. We were angry. I ran against Margolin because the 42nd District had the largest concentration of gays and lesbians. We flexed our muscles and we carried the votes in the gay and lesbian precincts," Duran says.

Moreover, Los Angeles gays broke with their straight supporters as a result of a dispute with the "Berman-Waxman



Robert Burke



John Duran

machine," an alliance between two Democratic congressmen from Los Angeles — Howard Berman and Henry Waxman — and their favored local politicians like Margolin, Terry Friedman, Barbara Friedman and Herschel Rosenthal. Gays rallied support for Tom Hayden in his 1992 Senate primary against incumbent Rosenthal as a payoff for promises that straight politicians broke, Duran says. As a result, Hayden squeaked into office.

In the November 1992 election, gay politicians put together a slate mailer sent to targeted gay households. "The results were overwhelming," says Duran. "It was a model. Any community could do this."

But the gay community wasn't strong enough to muscle mayoral candidate and ally Michael Woo into office. First, the vote was split. Richard Riordan, a conservative Republican, captured an estimated 28 percent of the 5 percent of Los Angeles residents who identified themselves as homosexual, according to a *Los Angeles Times* poll.

Bob Burke, the now openly gay political director of Riordan's campaign, had run and lost a bid for Democrat Mike Roos' old Assembly district in Silverlake in a 1991 special election. Party support for his opponent — now-Assemblywoman Barbara Friedman — as opposed to its promised support for a gay candidate for that seat, played a big part in the dispute between gays and the Berman-Waxman Democrats.

But Burke feels that despite the gay community's embrace of Woo, the candidate's support was lukewarm. "Mike could have taken stronger positions on an AIDS coordinator or trying to get a gay police commissioner. His administration was lacking in tangible results. We never got anything of substance," Burke says.

Gays do not perceive Riordan as anti-gay, just unpolished. "Riordan is not homophobic," say Lorri L. Jean, executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center of Los Angeles. "He was elected as a fiscal conservative and anti-incumbent."

While Jean is optimistic about Riordan, she admits, "He doesn't know our issues. He makes *faux pas*. He didn't know AIDS Project Los Angeles, he pressed people's buttons by telling them some of his best friends are gay. He has some polishing to do," Jean says.

If gay Democrats feel frustrated by half-baked support from the Democratic Party, they are light years ahead of their counterparts in the Republican Party, which put on a National Convention starring famous gay-bashers Pat Robertson and Patrick Buchanan. But gay Republicans exude an all-American spirit that believes that if you do the right thing, and don't push your sexual orientation in their faces,

that you will be accepted as a Republican who happens to be gay.

The Republican Central Committee wishes they'd go away.

The Log Cabin Federation is the main gay Republican political organization in the country. There are nine Log

Cabin clubs in California. Founded in Los Angeles in 1977, Log Cabin members are liberal Republicans. Often their families have voted Republican for generations and they are fiscal conservatives in favor of a strong defense. They also advocate that government get off the moral warpath against homosexuality.

"We are the element in the coalition that is fighting the religious right, but the problem is that there are very few Republicans in urban areas. The liberal communities acted as magnets," says Chris Bowman, political consultant and past president of the Log Cabin Club in San Francisco. Bowman says the reason gay Republicans are so weak is because "all of them became Democrats."

But gay Republicans are a durable minority. Bowman says Republicans are busy organizing in Ventura, Riverside, San Luis Obispo, San Diego, Sacramento and Kern counties. "Because gay power is concentrated in urban areas, we are not able to reach middle America. We will never be the majority, so we must organize in suburban and rural areas," Bowman says.

And Log Cabin takes some credit for rounding up the 28 percent gay vote that helped put Riordan on the mayor's throne.

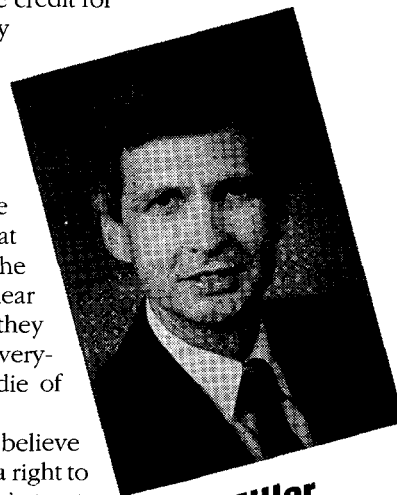
Phil Perry, press secretary for the Republican leadership in Sacramento, expresses the mainstream Republican take on gay issues: "I don't care what the story is. They don't like the lifestyle, they don't want to hear about it. That doesn't mean they are Nazis and that they want everyone to stay in the closet or die of AIDS."

"Hard-core conservatives believe that government doesn't have a right to know what you do, but don't try to impress me with it. Don't be separate. No special protections. We should all just be equal and keep it to yourself. Don't throw it in my face," Perry says.

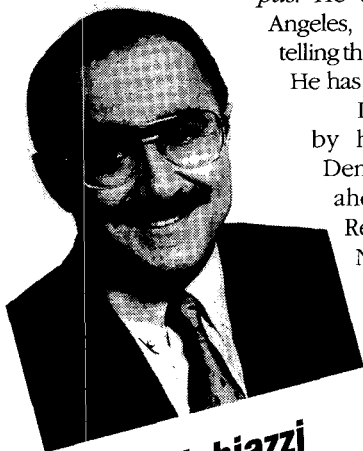
Gay Republicans agree. "We are not activists. I was elected to serve on the city council, not to be the gay advocate," says Wayne Peterson, an "out" gay who serves on the Laguna Beach City Council. A tiny pocket within arch-conservative Orange County, Laguna Beach, an artist community, has a large gay population. "I make my statements by setting a good example," Peterson says.

This is okay for most Republicans, says Perry. "Ninety percent of gay people fit in. They don't bash people with their lifestyle. But to the 10 percent that make all the noise and spit on cops and dress in leather and spikes, we say, 'Do we want to do something better for you?'"

Republicans blame Wilson's last-minute refusal to sign AB 101 on the bill's sponsor, Democratic Assemblyman Terry Friedman. "This is an issue that's five years old and that's where the consciousness is," explains Perry. "Pete was reminded of political realities ... and political pressure from his constituency. He ... doesn't like to be backed into a corner and browbeat. Friedman browbeat. Pete would have taken some amendments. Friedman would



Tony Miller



Frank Richiazzi

not take amendments. Friedman was the reason he didn't sign."

Perhaps. But backing out on his promise also set his loyal employees to grumbling. While quick to praise the governor for three openly gay appointments to the state bureaucracy, Frank Ricchiazzi, assistant director of the Department of Motor Vehicles, says, "There was a lot of anguish with that veto. He was our governor, we put him there. We put so much effort in getting votes in the gay community. We felt betrayed. We were the angriest of the whole community."

Gay Republicans appear more satisfied than Democrats with AB 2601. "It made it clear that we're protected," Ricchiazzi says. Nonetheless, he acknowledges that Wilson has lost the gay vote once and for all. "I told the governor, 'What you did is kissed the community goodbye. You will not be

forgiven. The Democratic nominee will get the vote.'"

The real enemy, say observers, is homophobia — the negative feeling some homosexuals have about their own sexual orientation, and the open hatred and stigmatization of gay people by the religious right wing. This group never ceases its crusade to oust gays and lesbians from schools and churches and to promulgate its own Christian brand of pious intolerance. If gays can overcome their own homophobia, observers say, and conquer the right wing's wealthy, organized, targeted political campaigns against them, the future could be bright.

"One area where we will be working together in a coalition is on domestic partners," says Laurie McBride, executive director of Lobby for Individual Freedom and Equality (LIFE), a Sacramento-based gay lobbying group that specializes in AIDS and civil rights. "A lot of heterosexual people want domestic partnerships and want to set up an arrangement. People will see that as an alternative system that values relationships in a strong and powerful way. Family is our most important issue. There will be a lot of family issues in the next five to 10 years."

McBride, however, acknowledges the strength of the opposition.

"We are attacked by the rabid right wing, the ayatollah of Anaheim," McBride says about the Reverend Louis P. Sheldon, chairman of the Traditional Values Coalition (TVC), an Orange County-based lobbying network of right wing Christian congregations. "I have had his people tell me they would like to throw the first stone at my execution. These people want to force us into a mold and keep us busy with surface issues of right and wrong," she says.

The religious right wing is mobilized to make sure that every gain made by the gay community is met with a loss or the threat of one. Sheldon says the TVC is preparing a ballot measure for November 1994 to ensure that the civil code specifies marriage to be restricted to male-female relationships only. Two court cases, one in Hawaii and the other in California, seek to end the ban on same sex marriages on the grounds of gender discrimination. In the Hawaii case, the burden of proof is now on the state to prove there is a compelling reason for same-sex marriages not to be legalized.

State Senator Tim Leslie, a conservative Republican from Carmelian Bay near Sacramento, has proposed a Senate Constitutional Amendment, SCA 18, which would strictly define family as a man and a woman related by marriage, and a parent and his or her natural or adopted children. Domestic partners would not be recognized. Sheldon insists the TVC isn't being homophobic or bigoted when it describes homosexuality as perverted. "... We are standing up for family, and they are promoting a lifestyle that will destroy the culture, the family and western civilization.

"Homosexuality and perversion destroyed ancient Rome and ancient Greece. You have to keep the genie in the marital bottle. Men with men and women with women will destroy the culture..."

In addition to messing up the natural order, homosexuality, to Sheldon and his followers, is a health hazard. "With AIDS, we have come to see that homosexuality is a high-risk health factor," Sheldon says. "With AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, you can't keep yourself bodily clean. That's true with prostitution also. We haven't legalized prostitution."

Attorney/candidate John Duran, whom Sheldon once referred to as "a principality of Satan," says, "Whenever the Reverend Sheldon speaks, he helps our side. I always like it when he shows up."

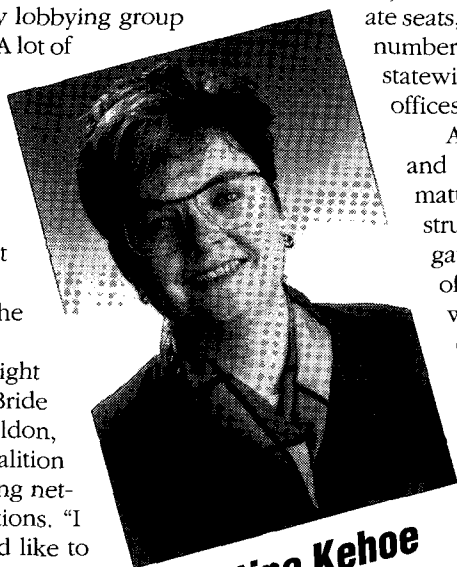
Sheldon promises to stick around. "We will be doing major candidate recruitment for Assembly and Senate seats," he says. "We are networking with a great number of candidates — between 75 and 100 — statewide for school boards, city and county offices and the bureaucracy."

As a gay political power emerges as a force, and as the community's political sensibilities mature to form coalitions with other groups struggling for representation, observers say gay issues will naturally fold into the interests of other minority groups, and that being gay will be yet another element of political diversity, like race or ethnicity. Thus, gay and lesbian politicians will be elected because they represent a broad range of interests. Some, like Democrats Jackie Goldberg of Los Angeles and Migden of San Francisco, are representing them now.

And next year, the first openly gay statewide candidate will seek the office of secretary of state — Tony Miller, who has been chief deputy to Democrat March Fong Eu for all of Eu's 18-year tenure as secretary of state. Eu is expected to be named by



Jackie Goldberg



Christine Kehoe

President Clinton as ambassador to Micronesia, and Miller already has declared his intention to replace her. A Democrat, Miller will be opposed in the primary, probably by Assemblywoman Jackie Speier of South San Francisco. Los Angeles Assemblywoman Gwen Moore also could join the race. Miller's candidacy will test whether gay political power can extend beyond the parochial borders of San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Meanwhile, those borders are being extended in bits and pieces by other, local candidates. But both Christine Kehoe, running as the first "out" lesbian candidate for the San Diego City Council, and John Laird, former two-term mayor of Santa Cruz and the only openly gay candidate for the California Assembly, ran coalition campaigns. "I broke the barrier in 1983 by being elected mayor. But that means I have a responsibility to be 200 percent better on government issues and service to our constituency. We have to be real," says Laird.

Sexual orientation is a secondary issue for voters in Santa Cruz. "My career has risen on political coalitions for local issues and working with neighborhood activists on behalf of straights, gays and everyone. In Santa Cruz, people believe in saving the coast and marine issues. These are as important as gay issues," says Laird, who lost his Assembly race in an August special election.

"Being a lesbian helped in my fund raising and it was probably the only hope for getting a gay city council member elected in this district before the year 2000," says

Goldberg, who narrowly won election last June to Los Angeles' 13th City Council District — the seat formerly held by defeated mayoral candidate Woo.

"We won across the board. We didn't bring in the issue of sexual orientation. The issues in this campaign were crime, overdevelopment, homelessness and youth policy. I had been on the school board for eight years, so this issue of sexual orientation wasn't something to run on or from," Goldberg says. Woo's old seat is grounded within the most diverse district in Los Angeles. "In most Los Angeles communities, you don't have a concentration of gay political voting strength, so broadly speaking I had to appeal to Armenians, Filipinos, Koreans, Latinos, Thais, Chinese, older ethnic whites, longtime liberals and progressives, environmentalists, labor and artists. These coalitions make the difference. Our appeal was to anyone who cared about human rights."

Gay power is just starting to emerge in San Diego with Kehoe's 3rd District contest. "Gay power in San Diego is coalescing in my race," Kehoe says. "I have the luxury of being the focus of a broad base of community support. Lesbians and gays responded overwhelmingly to my campaign."

An aide to Councilman John Hartley, Kehoe is well known for community involvement and picked up endorsements from Hartley, who has decided to leave office, his supporters and the Democratic Central Committee. "The non-gay members of the central committee supported me over the other Democrats because they see me as being a good party loyalist, a good grass-roots oriented Democrat who will stay in touch with them once the election is over," says Kehoe, who's involved in a November run-off.

The Kehoe coalition consists of small businesses, gays and lesbians, grass-roots neighborhood folks and a Republican city council member. She says her victory is important for gays and lesbians. "Every minority that has taken to participating in the mainstream feels seriously that you have to elect your own. It is part of the maturation of the movement. Just like African-Americans and women, your experience and that of your community is coming from you. We have to voice our view on crime, on utilities, we have to be part of the process," Kehoe says.

If being a gay officeholder is distinct from being a straight one, then being a lesbian officeholder is distinctive in a different way, says Migden. Lesbians are the part of the women's movement, which has a wide historical political outreach, and lesbians will thus be a major force in propelling homosexuals into the political mainstream. "Lesbians fueled the feminist movement. We cross over into communities like women, people of color — we have always been a coalition that has fortified the left and part of the larger mobilization," Migden says.

Meanwhile, as term limits approach in 1996, gay candidates will have an historic opportunity to run for open seats in the Legislature. "When there are more open seats, there are more opportunities to fill those seats, and the more able gay and lesbian leaders there will be. There are numerous, outstanding gay and lesbian candidates," says Assemblyman Terry Friedman. "Those openings are opportunities for those who are prepared and ready to take advantage of that activity. It will happen for them if there is unity in the community." 🏠

Advertisement



Association Consulting Service

- ⊗ Needs Assessments
- ⊗ Strategic Planning
- ⊗ Management Review
- ⊗ Financial Audits
- ⊗ Board/Staff Training
- ⊗ Software/MIS
- ⊗ Communications
- ⊗ Lobbying Advice

All inquiries strictly confidential

Skip Daum, President
(916) 927-1234

Turning Dreams into Realities



The "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" scholarship program encourages student athletes to take the lessons learned on the football field today and teach children in the classrooms tomorrow.

Encouraging Student Athletes to Become Teachers

During his three years as nose guard on Louisiana State University's football team, John Mawae came to know the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat. But nothing moved him more than working with disabled children in a Special Olympics held at LSU. "Seeing those kids realize their dreams against all odds really got to me," Mawae recalls. "I knew then what I wanted to do: help kids like them realize their dreams."

Mawae will get that chance,

thanks in part to the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" scholarship program created by the College Football Association (CFA) and sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd. Started last academic year, the program awards \$335,000 in scholarships at the 67 CFA member universities. At each university, a \$5,000 scholarship is awarded to an outstanding senior or graduate student who intends to become a teacher and has participated in the school's football program as a player, trainer, or manager. Mawae, a 1992 scholarship recipient, intends to use his grant to pursue a career teaching kids with special needs.

"Teaching plays an important but undervalued role in society," says Charles M. Neinas, the CFA's executive director. "We'd like to encourage more student athletes to pursue this field, because we think that what they learn on the football field helps to make them effective teachers in the classroom."

Nicole Hagner, a recent University of Pittsburgh graduate, agrees. "Athletics teaches you that it's possible to turn the right dream into a reality through hard work, discipline and teamwork. I'd like to bring that lesson to the classroom," she says. Hagner, who served as a student trainer on Pitt's football team, plans to use her grant to become certified as a high school biology teacher.



Nicole Hagner, University of Pittsburgh graduate and 1992 scholarship recipient.

As college football fans and parents of school-age children, we are proud to be a part of the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" scholarship program. We hope that it helps more student athletes like John and Nicole to realize their dreams of becoming teachers.

For more information, write:
Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146,
Los Angeles, CA 90035.

HITACHI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Copies Available Now

Capitol Focus

First Ever Televised Studio Debate



SPOTLIGHT ON EDUCATION: Proposition 174 School Voucher-Parental Choice

Proposition 174, the School Voucher-Parental Choice initiative, was the topic of a lively debate during a studio session on August 27, 1993. Fifty California youth from a cross-section of communities witnessed the debate and questioned speakers during the taped session which will air on the California Channel. Robert Stern moderated the session with Frank Ury, President of Public Educators for School Choice (Proponent), and Alice Huffman with the California Teachers Association (Opponent). The studio session was a highlight of SPOTLIGHT ON EDUCATION, a two-day Capitol Focus conference on education-related issues.

Studio Debate Sponsors:

Bank of America
CSUS Center for California Studies
The California Channel
Capitol Focus

Taped Copies Available:

For a taped copy of the Capitol Focus Debate on the Voucher Initiative please send \$10.00 per copy (price includes shipping and handling) to:

Capitol Focus
1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento,
California 95814
916 443-2229



will be "homeless" as of November 1, 1993. We are looking for donated or discounted office space in the downtown Sacramento area (Approximately 500+ square feet). Donors will be recognized on all program materials. Please contact us at 916/443-2229 if you have any recommendations or leads. Thank you!

Illustration by Patricia Tweten



A Clash of Cultures

Gays find it's much more difficult to be "out" in small-town California.

By J.S. Taub

Repeal of California's sodomy laws and selected local anti-discrimination laws have made this state a haven for gays from all over the country. But this kind of tolerance — the live and let live spirit that makes California a refuge — does not exist everywhere in the state. In some rural communities, California can be a lonely, hostile place for gay men and lesbians. In some California towns, being open about homosexuality can result in discrimination in housing or employment, ostracism from professional peers or a blunt instrument to the back of the head.

African-American gays feel society's disapproval punctuated by the stinging rejection of the conservative Black church

establishment. Says Los Angeles state Senator Diane Watson, "The Black churches are very conservative on this issue. It is not smart to preach the gay lifestyle. We can't get into that. We have to educate."

While California's rural gays are watching the national picture and figuring a way to take advantage of it, they acknowledge that acceptance will come very slowly for gays outside the cities. In some rural communities, gays are virtually invisible.

Nancy Bailey, PhD, chairwoman of the physical education department at California State University, Bakersfield, says there aren't enough gay activists in Bakersfield to march in a gay pride parade. She is one of a tiny band of open lesbians in this Southern California community. Gay pride consists of a speech or two at city hall. "This place is the 'Grapes of Wrath'; these are people from the Dust Bowl era; very Republican; very redneck," Bailey says. "Rush Limbaugh would be a hero

J.S. Taub is a freelance writer from San Francisco.

here." The surrounding areas are worse, Bailey adds. "Taft, Wasco, Oildale — these towns are closets."

The primary reason is fear. "These people who live in the small towns are right there with their families. There's a fear of violence and prejudice," Bailey says.

Bailey ran for office twice as an open lesbian — once for city council from the 6th Ward in 1983, and again for mayor in June 1984. She lost both times. A gay man, the late Francis Serra, ran for school board in 1983 and then for Congress in 1984 and 1986. What were their chances of victory? "An 'out' gay in Bakersfield? Win?" says Bailey. Nonetheless, Bailey captured support from the Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Committee, National Organization for Women, the Mexican American Political Association, the NAACP, the Democratic Central Committee of Kern County and others. "The whole point of my getting into politics was to let gays know that we are here, that we could do things for ourselves. I didn't expect to win. When you run a political campaign, you get the gay movement into the media. We need freedom and the only way to get it is to grab it."

Bailey says lesbians in her area are much more willing to emerge from the closet than are gay men. "The men are more into money and influence and trading favors. Women are already the underdogs — we have nothing left to lose," she says.

Modesto is another place where gay activism is virtually non-existent. The Central Valley, including Stockton and Merced, are politically conservative, and the gay population tends to keep its place.

"We don't have a lot of radicalism here," says the

Advertisement

It's About Time

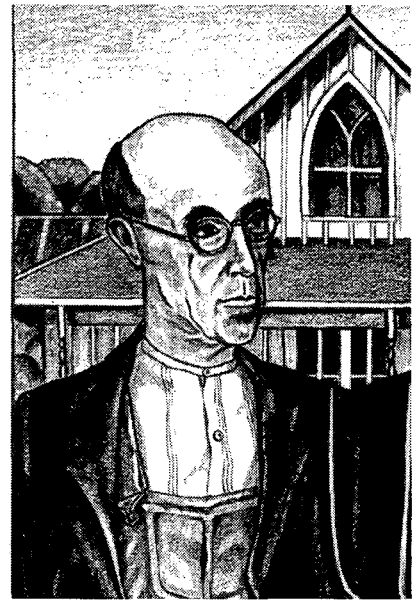
You know what a degree could do for your career. But you work all day. So who has the time, right? Wrong.

At Golden Gate University we specialize in bachelor's and master's degree programs for working adults in the fields you need — like accounting, public administration, management, taxation, and, in San Francisco an ABA-accredited Law School.

Small classes led by top academics and career professionals meet evenings and weekends in Sacramento and throughout the Bay Area.

Sacramento • 916/648-1446
Bay Area Locations • 415/442-7800

GOLDEN GATE UNIVERSITY



"It is very hard to find gay people here. They come here to escape the politics of city living. They stay home."

—Gary Page

Reverend Paul Shoopman, senior minister of the Metropolitan Community Church in Modesto, which caters to a gay congregation. "We are different than other towns in the Central Valley in that we don't have a high degree of visibility. It's different than Fresno or Sacramento, where things are more organized," Shoopman says.

Still, homophobia is alive and well and has been characterized by anti-gay violence. "There is gay bashing and harassment," Shoopman says. The Traditional Values Coalition has lobbied the Modesto City Council to remove homosexuals from the list of hate crime victims. And Shoopman says there is at least one fatality alleged to be linked to anti-gay violence.

This has rallied some gays to become more organized and fight stigmatization. But it will be difficult. "Much of the gay community has the perception that the right wing is more powerful than it is. I think the community gives them more power than they have," Shoopman says.

In the northern part of the state, Mount Shasta is a picturesque small community in transition — a former timber area turned over to tourism. "I describe safe sex as a single person living in Siskiyou County," says Gary Page, a local accountant and president of Siskiyou HIV Consortium. "It is very hard to find gay people here. They come here to escape the politics of city living. They stay home." Page says there is a small P-FLAG (Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays) group and a monthly potluck. "The perception here is that 'out' is not acceptable, but our own homophobia may be to blame."

Page supports Act Up, and credits the group with empowering gay men and lesbians to come out in a rural setting. But he says demonstration and "clubbing people over the head" would backfire in this remote area. "One reason I have identified myself and am not scared is that I am

booth has been burned down twice.

While the Traditional Values Coalition has made its presence known, and the city just elected a fundamentalist mayor, Hunter doesn't feel that the evangelical right wing is all that powerful. Being a university town helps. "The school took a strong stand against the attack on the gay booth," Hunter says.

But Hunter says being gay and Black is tougher than just being gay. "Blacks are much more closeted because of the church. If it hadn't been for AIDS-they call it the 'virus,' but they know what it is - it was difficult to go into the Black community. The Black churches have been and still are homophobic. At the gay parade this year we had a people-of-color contingent. If there were four Blacks there, I'm being generous. It was mostly Latinos and Asians," Hunter says.

The coast town of San Luis Obispo is home to many gays, and they are becoming more visible and assertive. Last year, the gay community drew up an anti-discrimination ordinance modeled after the one in Laguna Beach. It was defeated by one vote under pressure from the right wing. A gay pride banner in Mission Plaza was removed. Nevertheless, Dana Bel Monte, president of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance of the Central Coast, says gays do have political clout in San Luis Obispo, though less than in nearby towns of Atascadero and Paso Robles. "Our issues are being heard," Bel Monte says. "There is a lot of political activism. In the early days, people were openly hostile and homophobic. Today politicians are a lot more careful. That's because we have power."

The gay community is a lot more organized in San Luis Obispo than in other small California towns. For instance, the alliance has 1000 members. There are gay professional groups, a gay student union at Cal Poly, the MCC Church, P-FLAG, and AIDS support group and a lesbians of color group. But the gay population didn't move there for the social life. Like most straights, gays move to San Luis because it's quiet and there's less crime.

"I've never hidden. I'm 'out,'" Bel Monte says. "I got two hate calls, but that's to be expected."

Similarly, in a small town like Palm Springs, the community is conservative but tolerant because of the high concentration of gays there, according to Karl Baker, LIFE lobby treasurer. "There is not a lot of discrimination or prejudice."

In the southeastern sector of the state, there is also the Desert AIDS Project and the Gay and Lesbian Alliance of the Desert. Palm Springs consists of older, closeted gay couples, AIDS and HIV patients, local service workers and a small professional community. There is a non-discrimination ordinance in Palm Springs and in nearby Cathedral City. Acceptance is one thing, however; ceding political power is another. When an openly gay man ran for mayor in Cathedral City, he was defeated by a fundamentalist opponent. A large portion of the population is retired or has AIDS, and they are not politically active. Despite that, Baker says, "This is a new era. Everyone is beginning to realize we're here. The gay community has a lot of money. We are a force to be reckoned with. Our assemblywoman, Julie Bornstein, wears a red AIDS ribbon. She's a friend."

Baker is uncomfortable with the idea of gays challenging straight allies. Speaking of John Duran's race for Burt Margolin's 42nd Assembly District seat in 1992 (see previous story), Baker says, "Margolin was not our enemy. Why challenge him? I would do my best behind the scenes to talk gays out of running against friendly people. But I would support a gay person if

they ran."

In the desert, Baker says, very few people would support a gay candidate against Bornstein. "She's new. She's never done us dirt. Of course, we are watching her closely," Baker says.

Rand Martin, a Sacramento activist and senior consultant to Assemblyman Terry Friedman of Los Angeles, says that Sacramento and the surrounding areas are just beginning to organize. "But even if it's later in coming, it's a very cohesive movement," Martin says. The California Capital Political Action Committee is bipartisan, co-gender and stresses the need for balance, Martin says, unlike San Francisco and Los Angeles where there is more divisiveness in terms of political ideology.

In Sacramento, Martin initially ran into the political inertia of gay rights advocates living in a friendly environment. "The thing I found most fascinating was how complacent the community was here. Because the city council and the board of supervisors are very supportive, there was no sense of urgency. We are not second-class citizens here, there was no sense of need."

Nonetheless, Martin says, in Sierra Nevada rural communities, it is a challenge to rouse gay men and lesbians to political action. "It's not an area where you can hold rallies or call people together," Martin says. "Raising money is easier than getting volunteers. They are more comfortable with social events. In a lot of small towns, it is more an issue of community than political ideology. Urban conservatives don't like gay people, but rural people won't lead a charge against those who live in their community. They are more likely to get upset about a library book, or a teacher." 🏠

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685). 1A. Title of Publication: California Journal. 1B. Publication No: 825300. 2. Date of Filing: September 30, 1993. 3. Frequency of Issue: Monthly. 3A. Number of issues published annually: 12. 3B. Annual Subscription Price: \$34.95/59.00/95.00. 4. Office of Publication: 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. 5. Headquarters of general business offices of the publisher: Same. 6. Full Names and complete address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher, Thomas R. Hoeber; Editor, Richard Zeiger; Managing Editor, A.G. Block, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. 7. Owner: Information for Public Affairs, Inc., 1900 14th Street, Sacramento, CA 95814; Richard W. & Hope Brandsma, Judson C. Clark, Gay Duket, R. William & Marilyn J. Hauck, Thomas R. & Maru Hoeber, Mathew J. & Patricia M. Hogan, James C. & Barbara J. Hurst, Koppes Family Revocable Trust, Raymond Posey & Vicky Caul-Posey, Michael W. & Anita K. Wenstrom, Arthur S. & Beverly R. Zimmerman. 8. Not Applicable. 9. Not Applicable. 10. Extent and Nature of Circulation: (Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 months) Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date. A. Total number of copies: (14,958) 16,000. B. Paid circulation 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: (2,048) 3,108. 2. Mail Subscription: (11,256) 10,775. C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation: (13,304) 13,883. D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or Other Means: Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free Copies: (554) 507. E. Total distribution: (13,859) 14,390. F. Copies Not Distributed: 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: (2,281) 2,967. 2. Return from News Agents: (1,181) 1,357. G. Total (14,958) 16,000. 11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Thomas R. Hoeber, Publisher.

ANNOUNCING **JASK**

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FUNDRAISING DATABASE AND EVENT MANAGEMENT SOFTWARE YOU HAVE BEEN DREAMING ABOUT!

Designed by Political Fundraisers

JASK features include:

Dynamic Donor Database

Fully relational database that tracks valuable donor information · Finance Council Commitments · Pledges · Contributions (including PACs, in-kinds, and legal limits) · FPPC required information · Donor history · Bookkeeping · Follow-up action tracking

Comprehensive Reports

Pre-defined and customized reports · Daily deposits/payments · Outstanding pledges · Thank you notes · Mailing labels · Call lists · Projections · More

Easy to Use

Menu-driven · Intuitive · Includes simple reports and wordprocessing functions (also exports ASCII files)

Revolutionary Event Management

Fully integrated event module that simultaneously manages all types of events (dinners, premiers, receptions) · Host pledges · Individual reservations · Seating · Event projections · Master event schedules · Automatically updates donor history

Compatible with Most Hardware

Runs on DOS, OS/2, Unix, Xenix, VMS and more · Single and multi-user versions available · Allows for 16 million records · Leasing available

Full Service

FREE TRAINING · Annual Service · Data Conversion · Database Management · Fundraising Consulting · Event Management

THE COMPETITIVE EDGE FOR 1994

IT'S AFFORDABLE – JUST ASK JASK!

Cathy Unger · Jill Govan · Penni Allen

JASK FUNDRAISING SERVICES

11150 Santa Monica Blvd., Suite 1400 · Los Angeles, CA 90025-7205

(310) 914-0066 · (800) 914-JASK · FAX (310) 914-9726

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Journal Bookstore

Books and pamphlets from California Journal Press

California Political Almanac. Every reader becomes a political insider with this candid analysis of California's political leaders written by Sacramento's most knowledgeable journalists. The new, 1993-94 *California Political Almanac* contains biographies, photographs, voting records and district description for every member of the state State, Assembly and Congress, as well as for every constitutional office. The Almanac also includes chapters on the bureaucracy, lobbyists, media, local government and much more: over 550 pages of data and analysis. 1993, 6x9", \$34.95, paper. **Includes free 1994 update.**

The New California: Facing the 21st Century, 2nd Edition. By Dan Walters with an introduction by Larry L. Berg. *The Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, completed a 9,000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which served as the basis for this book. It describes the socio-economic future of the nation's largest state and political implications of these trends. This 1992 edition is 186 pages long and contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data based on the 1990 Census. 5 1/2 x 8 1/2", \$11.95.

Political Action Handbook. One of *California Journal's* most popular booklets, the Political Action Handbook, 4th edition explains how newcomers and old hands alike can access the legislative process. Includes Do's and Don'ts, legislative process and administrative organization charts and much

more. More than 50,000 copies of the earlier editions of this lively 32-page, 5 1/2" x 8 1/2" guide have been used by individuals and associations to improve their effectiveness. 1-2 copies, \$3.75 ea; 3-49 copies, \$2.49 ea; 50-99 copies, \$1.49 ea; 100 copies, 99¢ ea.



Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime, by Lou Cannon. The best book on the Reagan presidency by the reporter who covered Reagan for more than 26 years for the *San Jose Mercury News* and *Washington Post*. We have obtained a supply of the original hardcover 900-page edition. Originally sold at \$24.95, it is available now to *California Journal* subscribers for \$14.95.

Reporting: An Inside View, by Lou Cannon. How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the working of the press will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating. 1977. 6x9",

308 pages. \$9.95 cloth, \$4.95 paper.

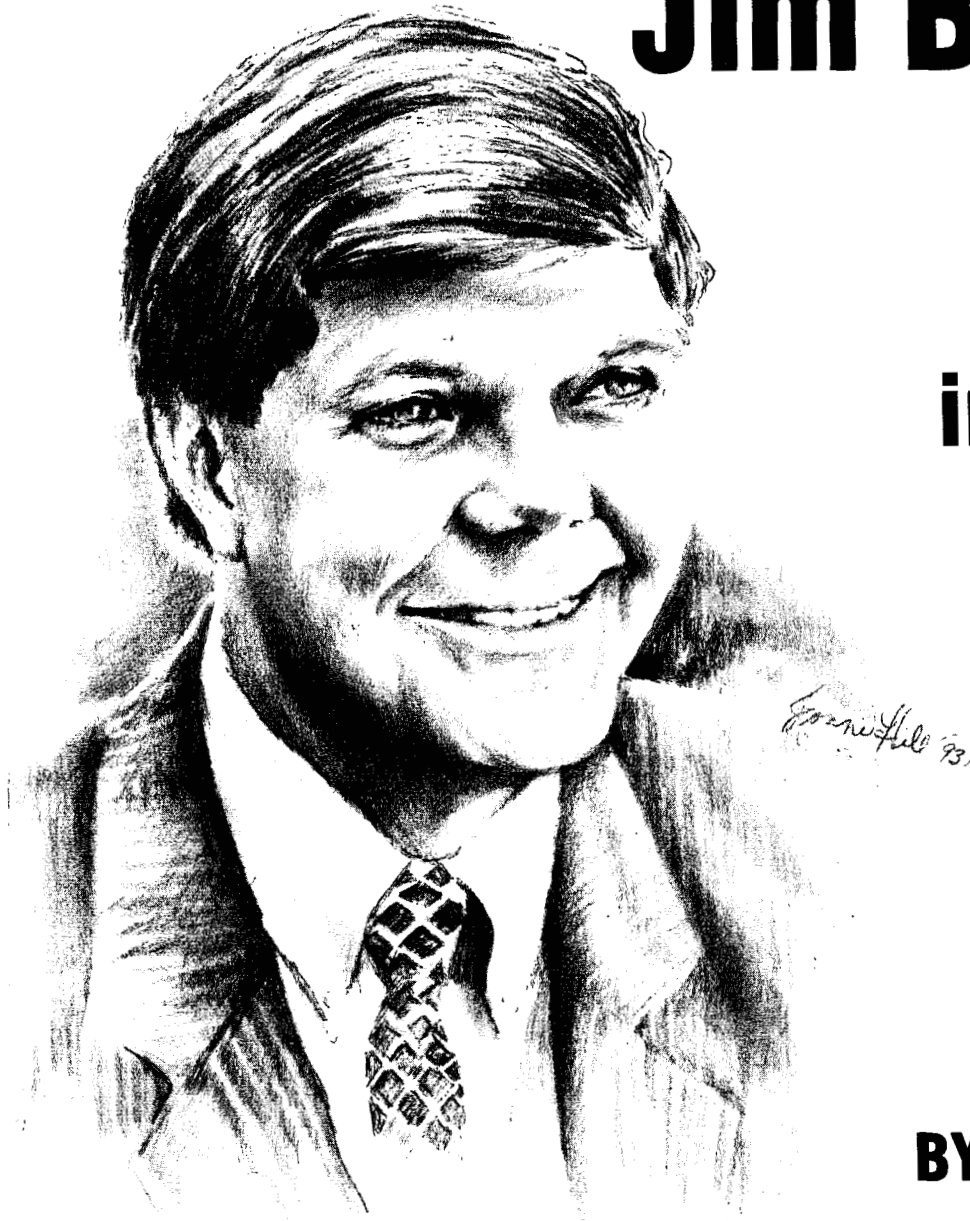
California Government and Politics Annual, 1993-94. Published every year, the Annual consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, direct democracy, education. 8 1/2 x 11", 96 pages. \$7.95, paper.

Please add 7.75% sales tax plus \$2.75 handling to each order. Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own and send it with payment (VISA or MasterCard orders accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814, or call 916/444-2840. FAX 916/444-2339

Jim Brulte:

new big man in the GOP

Illustration by Jonni Hill



BY STEVE SCOTT

Not long ago, a savvy veteran of the Capitol political wars was holding forth in a breakfast meeting with some reporters. Amid the projections, pronouncements and sly spin control, this long-time Democratic insider offered a startling, and very uncharacteristic testimonial. "There has not been a Republican leader like [Jim] Brulte since Carol Hallett," exclaimed the grizzled veteran, referring to the minority leader who led the Assembly GOP from 1979 to 1983. "Democrats should not underestimate Jim Brulte."

The words of praise themselves are not especially distinctive — such bromides are the stock-in-trade of any

politician worth his or her soapbox. But when they're spoken by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. about *any* Republican, let alone a GOP leader, they carry an impact that commands attention.

Although he has only just finished his first full year at the helm of the Assembly Republican Caucus, Jim Brulte already has more influence than either of his two predecessors as GOP leader. The 37-year-old Brulte has managed to develop an effective working relationship with Brown while maintaining control of a Republican caucus that has, in the past, been riven by its own ideological conflicts.

"By nature, Republicans are very independent-minded, very difficult to lead," says Assemblyman Dean Andal of Stockton, who once coveted the leadership job Brulte now holds. "I'm glad he was leader and I wasn't."

Andal isn't the only one who's happy things turned out the way they did. Brulte's immediate predecessors to the post — assemblymen Ross Johnson of La Habra and Bill Jones of Fresno — were either unwilling (Johnson) or unable (Jones) to control the more volatile ideologues within the Assembly GOP ranks. When mixed during floor sessions with some equally incendiary liberal partisans in the Assembly Democratic Caucus, it seemed that every tiny spark was igniting some huge brush fire. Since Brulte's ascension to leadership, few will argue that the karma in the Assembly has improved — even among those conservative Republicans known euphemistically as "the Cave Men."

"The blockades, the screaming, the yelling, the backstabbing ... all of that was eliminated to a 99th percentile because of Jim Brulte," notes Assemblyman Stan Statham of

Oak Run, a moderate and one of three members appointed by Brulte to serve as assistant minority leader.

That *any* GOP leader could win such an accolade is remarkable enough, but it is especially remarkable considering Brulte's relative youth. But then, he had an early start in politics. His father was a GOP precinct manager, his mother was involved with Republican women's groups and, at age 10, Brulte himself was slapping Ronald Reagan bumper stickers on cars. While a student at Cal Poly, Brulte organized a Young Republicans club and actually took six months off from school to work for President Gerald Ford's 1976 election campaign. Brulte's GOP contacts paid off when, after college, he went to work as a staffer for U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa — first in California, then in Washington, D.C. "I think I was the only male receptionist in the U.S. Senate, at the time," he recalls.

Ever the precocious partisan, Brulte capitalized on his presence in the nation's capital, moving in 1981 from Hayakawa's office to the staff of the Republican National Committee. After President Ronald Reagan's re-election, Brulte bounced around inside the second-term administration, moving from the Department of Defense to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, before landing as a member of then-Vice-President George Bush's advance staff.

Having, as he puts it, "achieved all of my goals in Washington," Brulte returned to his adopted hometown of Ontario (he was born in Glen Cove, New York) in 1986. He eventually wound up as chief-of-staff for former Republican Assemblyman Charles Bader of Pomona, and moved easily

Advertisement

Available Now

Roster on Diskette

Roster on Diskette provides IBM-compatible users with a friendly program for working with complete lists of elected state officials: easily create customized form letters without using a word processor; print mailing labels and other reports with a few keystrokes; export selected data to your word processor, spreadsheet, or database program. An optional module allows you to fax customized letters using a computer fax/modem.

Roster on Diskette contains names, district and capital addresses, party affiliation and phone numbers of all Legislators; name, address, members, and partisan breakdown of all Committees and other frequently called phone numbers. The California disk also contains State department heads.

THE PROGRAM IS AVAILABLE in 3 1/2" and 5 1/4" disk formats. Requires IBM compatible computer with 640K RAM.

50-State: 8000+ names, 14 mb of data. California: 800+ names, 3 MB of data.



ALSO AVAILABLE: 50-STATE LEGISLATIVE DIRECTORY

ORDER FORM

☐ 50-state Roster on Diskette \$495.00

☐ 50-state Legislative Directory \$95.00
includes binder and tabs.

☐ California Roster on Diskette \$79.00

Please add 7.75% sales tax plus \$2.75 handling to all orders.

Send your check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Telephone# _____

CJ

into the seat in 1990 when Bader ran unsuccessfully for state Senate.

If Brulte had any ambitions of being a Capitol power broker, he kept them well-hidden from most of the rest of the world. Instantly identified with the conservative wing of his party, his chief first-term accomplishment was to organize an "Inland Empire Caucus," consisting of lawmakers from Riverside and San Bernardino counties. He seemed headed for a competent, but unremarkable tenure. Within GOP circles, however, Brulte's name began to come up as a possible alternative to Jones, who was seen by many as being too close to Governor Pete Wilson. In the weeks leading up to the 1992 election, the more ambitious Andal had locked up the votes to oust Jones. Unfortunately for Andal, he failed to win his own re-election outright on Election Day and had to wait several days until all ballots had been counted. By then, and at the urging of his colleagues, Brulte "reluctantly" had stepped in, winning unanimous approval in a closed-door vote held two days after the November 1992 elections.

Facing a caucus that would stampede in a dozen different directions at the slightest provocation, Brulte's first step was to appoint a triumvirate of lieutenants — arch-conservative David Knowles; the slightly less conservative Andrea Seastrand, and Statham, generally viewed as a maverick moderate.

"In 1992, I was a member of a caucus that was at war with itself ... and at war with a governor of our own party," Brulte notes quietly. "I determined that my leadership team would reflect the conservative leanings of my caucus but

would include every element of the caucus."

Ironically, it was one of those "enemies" that helped facilitate Brulte's effort to bring his fractious caucus together. From the beginning of 1993, Speaker Brown seemed determined to test the young leader. He ignored Brulte's designees on budget issues, appointing instead a GOP outcast, Paul Horcher, as vice-chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee. He also broke with tradition by naming Democrats as both chairs and vice-chairs of committees. While he says the hurdles he had to jump were "a bit higher than normal," Brulte didn't rise to the bait. Instead, he somehow managed to convince his caucus to pick its fights carefully.

Whatever the internal alchemy, Brulte was able to overcome the early discord with the speaker. He opened communication channels with Democrats on budget and economic development issues, encouraging a less confrontational approach to Democratic bill authors. At one point, Brulte was actually invited into a Democratic caucus meeting — a first. The two leaders worked together in securing votes for the budget and pooled their efforts in drafting compromises on workers' compensation reform, business tax relief and regulatory reform. When the session ended, the syrupy testimonials exchanged by Brulte and Brown had even veteran "bull-throwers" reaching for their hip-waders.

While open critics of Brulte are hard to find, there are many who are not quite as sold on his talents as the speaker seems to be. Democratic lawmakers like the kinder, gentler tone from the GOP, but say Brulte has done little to moderate the ideological purism that has characterized the Republicans. He was criticized for being slow to move against rookie Assembly-

Advertisement

California Journal Seminars

How the System Works...

...How to Work the System

November Programs

- November 3 **Bill Analysis Workshop**
- November 4 **Winning Strategies... an advanced seminar on lobbying**
- November 5 **Demystifying the State Budget Process**

December Programs

- December 1 **Bill Analysis Workshop**
- December 2 **Legislative Process, Bill Tracking and Analysis (Santa Ana)**
- December 3 **Advocacy and Committee Protocol (Santa Ana)**

January Programs

- January 5 **Bill Analysis Workshop**
- January 13 **Administrative Law... how regulations are made...how to be involved**
- January 14 **Demystifying the Legislative Process**
- January 21 **Bill Tracking and Analysis**

Mark Your Calendar Surviving Political Law

February 9, 1994 **Sacramento** February 11, 1994 **Los Angeles**

Recertification for MCLE pending

Registration fee: \$167 (includes lunch and materials) Use your MC/VISA or we can bill you.

25% DISCOUNT FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONTACT ROD TUTTLE

(916) 444-2840

man Pete Knight of Palmdale, when Knight circulated a racist poem among his colleagues. Brulte insists the poem was never circulated in an actual caucus meeting. His caucus also failed to produce any more than the absolute bare minimum number of votes needed to pass the budget, despite his intimate involvement with its negotiation.

"I think he has to develop the ability to deliver more of his caucus," says Democratic Assemblyman Richard Katz of San Fernando. "I think the Republican leader ought to be able to deliver more than eight votes for what was, essentially, a Republican budget."

Brulte also seems to have some detractors in the Wilson administration. One Wilson insider insisted it was administration lobbying that secured Republican votes for the budget. When asked how many votes Brulte himself contributed, the insider held his thumb and forefinger in a circle, indicating zero. Another unnamed administration official, quoted in *The Sacramento Bee*, suggested that "if this were the Oscars, I'd give him the Oscar for a supporting role, not for a leading role."

Brulte dismisses the notion that he didn't have a handle on the caucus during the budget fight. "We delivered the exact number of votes we had to deliver to pass each of the

"The blockades, the screaming, the yelling, the backstabbing...all of that was eliminated to a 99th percentile because of Jim Brulte"

Assemblyman Stan Statham

budget bills," he says. And he insists the relationship between Wilson and Assembly Republicans has improved dramatically in his tenure, notwithstanding their off-the-record sniping.

Personally, Brulte exhibits a self-deprecating sense of humor, often joking about his imposing size (he stands 6'4" and weighs around 300 pounds). When talking about his job, however, Brulte is thoughtful and, at times, almost solemn. Most expect he will easily move on to the Senate in 1996 when both he and his Senator — Bill Leonard — max out on their respective term-limits. Unlike most of his colleagues, Brulte is a sup-

porter of term-limits. Perhaps more remarkably, Brulte is bluntly pragmatic about the GOP's chances of taking control of the Assembly. "I'm not going to be speaker of the Assembly," he concedes.

Between now and 1996, Brulte says his main goals will be to narrow the partisan gap in the Assembly and to continue the cooperative relationship with Democratic leaders.

"In the past, Republican caucuses have fought battles they didn't have a chance of winning," he says. "I've determined that we're going to fight the battles we can win, and we're going to win those battles." 🏛️

Advertisement



IN FRONT OF THE LEADERS

"The in-depth articles, the analysis of state issues and the political commentary — that's why I read the *California Journal*."

Pete Wilson
Governor of California

"For an in depth discussion of timely California issues, I turn to *California Journal*."

Kathleen Brown
Treasurer of California

"I consider *California Journal* a mainstay of information; I look forward each month to reading it."

David Roberti
President pro Tempore,
California State Senate

For information about advertising in California Journal contact: **Media Marketing (916) 452-3242**

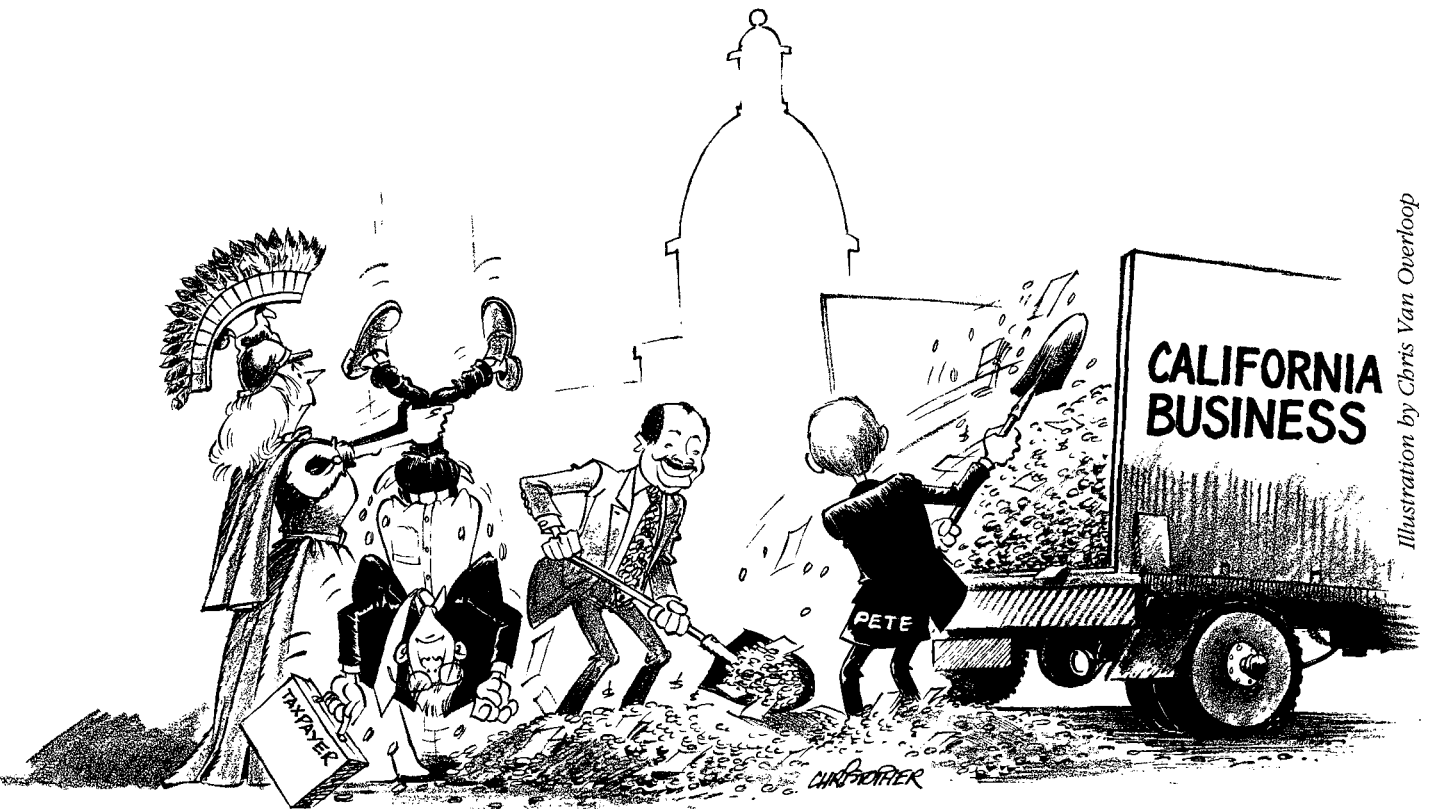


Illustration by Chris Van Overloop

Investment or sell-out? Business has its dream come true

by Mary Beth Barber

Governor Pete Wilson was smiling, pen in hand, as he signed the legislation. Since becoming governor, Wilson hasn't had much to smile about. But this omnibus tax bill for business brought out the governor's biggest grin. There with him was Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. And he was smiling, too.

Pete and Willie, smiling at the same time. A new era must have dawned in Sacramento.

Indeed, to hear Wilson's comments about the new business tax laws, passed on the last night before the Legislature began its fall break — he called it "the most sweeping tax reform in California since the passage of Proposition 13" — the millennium has arrived seven years early. The business tax breaks are the last part of a series of steps that the Legislature — and Wilson — vowed to take this year to help the state's moribund economy. They came after the budget was passed on time, the workers' compensation system was reformed, and the state's environmental laws were relaxed. The final jewel in the crown was an omnibus tax package aimed at attracting business to California and putting the Golden State on

equal footing with other states. And, as the governor signed with a flourish and gave away yet another pen to a colleague, he gave a broad smile for the cameras that indicated he planned to take full credit for the changes during next year's campaign for governor.

Wilson, of course, needed the cooperation of a Legislature controlled by Democrats. And although a most of the majority party joined in approving the tax breaks, there were some who were not smiling.

"The Big Tax Giveaway Act of 1993," grumped Democratic Assemblyman Phil Isenberg of Sacramento. Senator Bill Lockyer, a Hayward Democrat with aspirations to be president pro tempore next year, said that the measure has merits but not enough guarantees. And Democratic Senator Dan Boatwright of Concord teamed up with Lockyer during the wee hours of the last evening of session to fight for an alternative that asked more from business. Boatwright's diatribes focused on the lack of guarantees that business won't use the tax breaks to increase profits, without providing any of the new jobs or expanded business they claimed would be the result.

Their words fell on deaf ears, however. The Legislature was determined to pass the proposals brought to them by Bill Campbell, a former GOP state senator and current head of the California Manufacturers' Association. The alternatives found an early death that evening when Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. — the real key behind the bill's passage — quietly shoved them aside, saying they couldn't be presented on the floor because of parliamentary rules. With only one real business tax-break bill in front of them, most lawmakers were willing to place their bets that the proposal, SB 671 by Democrat Alfred Alquist of San Jose, would attract enough companies and capital to the state to pay for the lost tax revenue.

Brown, as he had done during the entire legislative session, used his influence to push a pro-business agenda that suited the GOP and often pitted him against colleagues from his own party. Most Capitol insiders agree that it was the speaker who was the main strongman behind the legislation, not Wilson. Brown's main proposal was a tax break for businesses that buy new manufacturing equipment. It's an idea he's pushed since early spring, just weeks after his economic summit in February, where he listened to businessman after businessman complain that other states offered tax breaks as incentives for companies, so why couldn't California? Yet Brown's bill, AB 1313, never made it out of committee during the session because the speaker could never overcome the problem of revenue loss at a time when the state faced a huge



It's not fair to ask people to pay an additional one-half cent sales tax ... at the same time we're going to give a 6 percent break to companies.
—Senator Dan Boatwright

budget deficit.

But there was a business tax bill floating around that most likely would pass, one dealing with multi-national companies and the state's complicated unitary tax system for international companies. Multi-nationals, especially British and Japanese, have complained about California's method of taxation for years. The state calculates a company's taxes based on a proportionate share of the company's worldwide profits — not just those it claims were made in California. Corporations hate it. They claim that California should only tax business done in the state, or at least only in the United States, as other states do. California officials have long claimed that the unitary method prevents companies from stashing profits in places that don't tax corporations, like the Cayman Islands. But, after Britain and Japan hinted at a trade war, the Legislature gave in during the 1980s and allowed companies to calculate their tax rated based on

their business in the U.S. — the so-called "water's edge" method. But to use this method, companies were required to pay a fee, which few opted to pay. Barclays Bank of England even sued the state's Franchise Tax Board over the fee, and Britain no longer simply hinted at a trade war. By the beginning of 1993, the Barclays case was before the U.S. Supreme Court and the Clinton administration was threatening to oppose California before the high court. When Wilson signed the tax change, the Clinton administration told the Supreme Court in a brief that the problems were now solved and suggested the court not hear the case — a suggestion most government officials believe the court will accept.

Alquist's bill originally intended to simply eliminate the fee for companies that chose the "water's edge" method of taxation, essentially bringing California's laws into accordance with other states. But Brown — seeing that the Alquist bill was bound to pass the Legislature — added his sales tax break, turning SB 671 into early Christmas for the state's business community. It contained a host of items loosely categorized as "business tax provisions:" allows a 6 percent investment tax credit for the purchase of manufacturing equipment; matched federal law by reducing from 80 percent to 50 percent the amount of money spent on meals and entertainment that may be written off as business expenses; extends indefinitely the research-and-development tax credit; reduces the rate for one type of tax category for the owners of closely-held corporations, "sub-chapter S;" exempts sales and use taxes for flight materials used for space launches from Vandenberg Air Force Base (with a sunset of January 1, 2004); exempts from taxes half the capital gain from small business stocks held for over five years; and changes the unitary tax law.

With so many goodies to pass out, legislators found it difficult *not* voting for it. Some more skeptical members — namely Lockyer, Boatwright and Democratic Assembly Ways and Means Chairman John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara — at the last minute pushed for some kind of guarantees that the tax breaks would, in fact, mean new jobs for Californians. They drafted a proposal that included requiring businesses to maintain or increase jobs in order to get the manufacturing-equipment tax credit, and requiring those businesses to invest the credited money in California. Brown easily killed the alternative, saying it hadn't gone through the proper legislative procedures.

Some parts of the final draft remain distasteful to members like Lockyer, especially the tax rate reduction for the subchapter-S category. The owners of these businesses are upper income, said Lenny Goldberg of the California Tax Reform Association. He called the cut a "giveaway for millionaires" because of the high number of millionaires who fall into that category.

But the most heated debate is over the investment tax credit. Now that the bill has passed, the question remains whether business would be inclined to stay in California. Wilson and Brown believe so, as does CMA's Campbell. Even Lockyer said that he supports the reasoning behind the tax breaks. But companies can't guarantee that the tax breaks will mean that new facilities will be built in California, or existing companies still won't be tempted to flee.

"It represents a huge step forward," said Richard Hall of Intel, a computer-chip manufacturing company that chose to build a facility in New Mexico rather than in California. Newspaper headlines of Intel's preference for New Mexico were thought to have swayed the Legislature to enact the tax package. "You should see some investment," said Hall. But not all companies are alike, and tax credits may mean nothing to them. "You don't get a consistent picture from everybody you talk to. Taxes are a big deal for Intel, but for others it might be workers' compensation" or other factors like the general quality of life in California. In terms of Intel, Hall wouldn't guess whether the company would have built in Northern California rather than New Mexico if the package had passed because there are too many other factors to take into account, especially since Intel was looking at six states, not just two. "But it would have improved California's chances," he said.

Others think that the taxes won't do much more than give a break to businesses that would stay in California for other reasons, like the huge market the state represents, or its coastal ports. Boatwright pointed to two analyses done by



Bill Campbell

the U.S. Department of Commerce and U.S. Department of Labor that show an increase in manufacturing equipment, and a decrease in jobs. "One suspects there is a connection," economist Laurence H. Meyer, a St. Louis-based consultant, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* in June. "Firms are reluctant to hire. They're trying to trim the number of workers. In order to produce with fewer workers, they need different equipment."

Boatwright agreed, claiming that the main reason companies invest in new manufacturing equipment is "to reduce employees. You're going to lose jobs," he said. "Where have the jobs gone in California? I'll tell you where they've gone; they've gone by the way of technology. Which is okay, but I don't think the state of California should subsidize it." And new manufacturing equipment for environmental protection that is required by the federal government shouldn't have a tax credit either, because it has nothing to do with whether the companies would stay in California or

move elsewhere since it's required everywhere. "They were going to have to buy it anyway," he said.

The Bay-area senator disputed the alleged protections in the bill, the claim from CMA that the bill will create 100,000 jobs by January 1, 2001. "What's the penalty? Are we going to collect the money that we've given them? No, we're not going to get the money back."

But Boatwright claimed that hypocrisy from Brown and Wilson angered him the most, especially with a sales tax increase, Proposition 172, on the ballot. "It's not fair to ask people to pay an additional one-half cent sales tax ... at the same time we're going to give a 6 percent break to companies."

Senator Tom Hayden, a Democrat from Santa Monica, claimed that the push for giving businesses breaks centers around an advertising campaign from the businesses themselves. But giving businesses breaks isn't what's going to bring back a favorable economy, said Hayden. Throwing money at business isn't going to help the people in the state who don't have jobs, he said. "We are in a jobless recovery. We can have higher profits and economic growth, but we are not creating jobs at a pace commensurate with the needs that we have."

Supporters of the measure don't think that new manufacturing equipment necessarily translates into loss of jobs, but rather helps along the creation of more advanced jobs in the state. "I can go back historically and point out that the candlestick union said if you go to electricity, you're going to cost thousands of jobs," said GOP Senator Frank Hill of Whittier. He thinks that the tax credit will help retain

companies in the state. "It's my opinion that California businesses are looking for some excuse to stay in California."

But even business people are skeptical that the bill really helps the state. Former GOP Assemblyman Tom McClintock, who now directs the conservative Center for the California Taxpayer, called it a "step in the right direction," but not as glorious as Wilson and Brown have painted it. "Compared to the \$2 billion to \$3 billion of new taxes Californians may be forced to swallow this year, a half a billion of tax relief that won't come until 1995 doesn't seem quite as impressive," he said in a statement. "Worse, economists generally agree that two-thirds of economic growth depends on consumer spending, and the tax of choice in Sacramento is on retail sales."

Sacramento has a nasty habit of promising businesses tax reforms, then never giving them, continued McClintock. "A key component in the administration's approach to the last three budget crises has been to delay, defer or cancel business tax credits which had been promised to California businesses," said McClintock. "In 1991 and 1992, for ex-



**It's my opinion that
California
businesses are
looking for some
excuse to stay in
California.**

—Senator Frank Hill

ample, the net operating loss carry-forward was simply postponed. And the \$120 million tax credit promised to California companies for employee health plans that was passed in 1990 amidst much fanfare was postponed in 1991, again in 1992 and just repealed this year without ever taking effect."

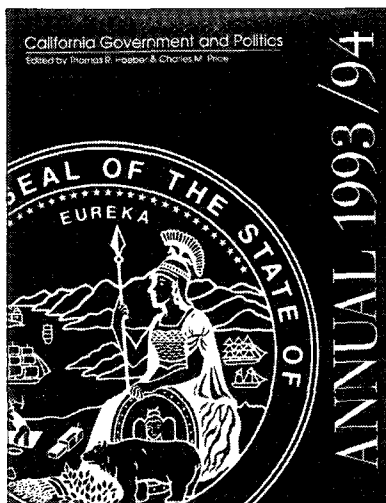
California's track record with business isn't good, said McClintock. Business doesn't trust that the tax credits will ever be enacted. While the changes do seem to make the state more attractive, some business types don't trust the legislature or Wilson to keep the investment tax credit come 1995. Lobbyists have indicated they will push for more business incentives again next year, especially ones that go into effect immediately so the Legislature and Wilson can't back out.

Even if the new tax breaks don't really help the economy, the flurry of pro-business has created at least the illusion that California's elected officials are trying to do something about the state's ailing economic climate.

And with an election season staring them in the face, that may be all Wilson

and the legislators need. 🏛️

Advertisement



California Government & Politics ANNUAL 1993-94

Now in its 24th edition, *California Journal's California Government and Politics Annual* is the best selling book for college and university courses in state and local government. It is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.

The 1993-94 edition contains chapters on the three branches of government plus lobbying, parties and politics, direct democracy, local government and the education system. The 96 page, 8 1/2 x 11" book is edited by Thomas R. Hoerber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, a political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: \$7.95 plus 7.75% sales tax and \$2.75 shipping & handling per order.

Bye-bye, GOP. Ta-ta, Dems.

California voters flee traditional parties

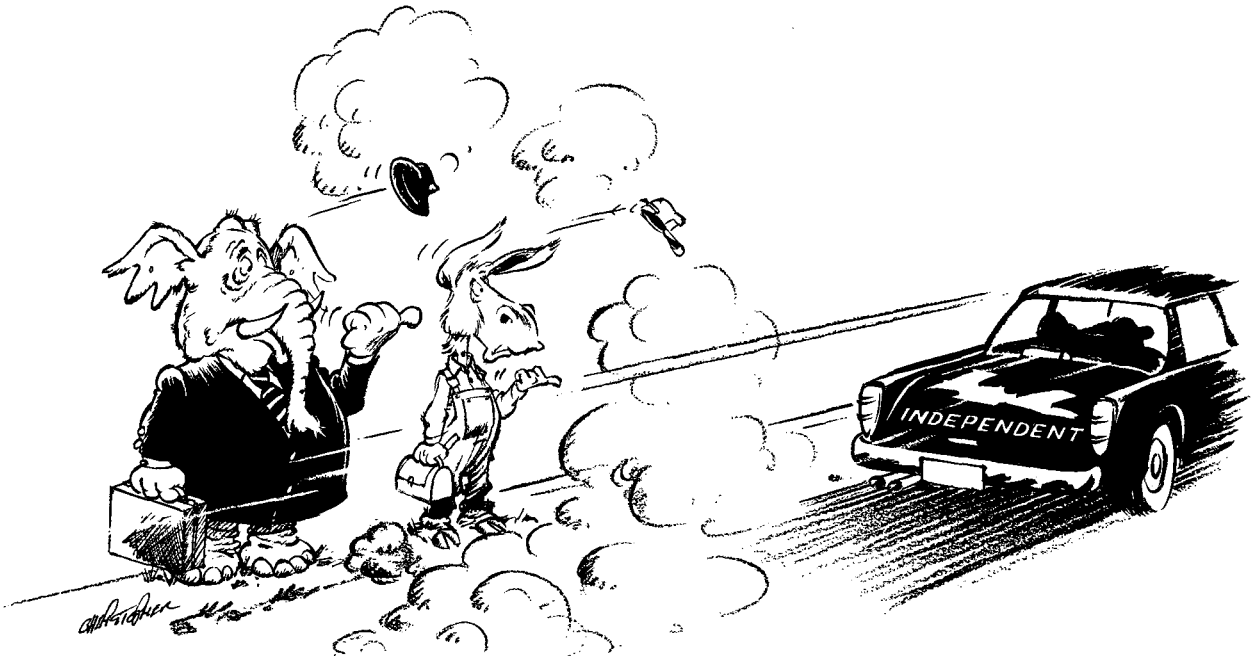


Illustration by Chris Van Overloop

A favorite topic of debate among political pundits, pollsters and politicians over the last few years has been the question of whether California is more Republican or Democratic in its partisan beliefs. Without much question, it is agreed that the 1970s was the decade of the Democrats. In the fallout from Watergate, Jerry Brown was swept in for two terms as governor, and the Democrats built staggering majorities in both houses of the Legislature.

The 1980s, many then argued, belonged to Republicans. Bolstered by the California-based presidency of Ronald Reagan, a two-term governor in George Deukmejian and seat gains in the Assembly, the GOP overtook the Democrats in partisan identification for the first time in 1986. Presumably, as its supporters and some non-partisans have strongly argued, the only thing that kept Republicans from winning majorities in the Legislature and in the state's congressional delegation was

Chris Collet is a PhD candidate in political science at the University of California, Irvine.

gerrymandered districts. By 1987, Secretary of State March Fong Eu had warned her fellow Democrats that "California had become a Republican state."

With this in mind, it seems natural to ask, "To whom does California belong in the 1990s?" Recent election results suggest that the Democrats have re-emerged. Victories in two crucial U.S. Senate races in 1992, and stunning gains in congressional and Assembly seats despite districts more favorable to Republicans suggest that the Democrats, indeed, may be regaining the strength they enjoyed before the Reagan Revolution.

But the answer to the question, surprisingly, is that the decade of the 1990s seems to belong to neither Republicans or Democrats. The '90s, rather, are poised to be the decade of independents, decline-to-states and an assortment of third parties. Beginning in 1968, California steadily drifted from the two major parties, to the point where, in November 1992 (see Graph 1), nearly 14 percent of its voters were registered either as decline-to-state or with one of the state's minor parties. In terms of raw numbers, decline-to-state and minor-party registration have grown at whopping rates of 566 percent and 145 percent respectively since 1968. By comparison, Republican registration has grown at 62 percent and Democratic at 58 percent over the same time period.

Some would argue that in the candidate-centered age of politics, party registration means very little. In fact, recent research by Ed Constantini and Charles Dannehl at the University of California, Davis, has underscored this, by showing the decline in the relationship between Democratic registration and Democratic vote share in California. Furthermore, registration data have been considered suspect because it is thought that one to two million voters still on

the rolls are "deadwood" — those who have either moved or are deceased.

But the gradual movement away from the two major parties in the last 25 years is evident in the more trusted party identification data as well. Since 1966, *The Field Poll* essentially has asked respondents: "Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, or Democrat, or what?" As Graph 2 shows (see page 33), the increase in those who give responses other than "Democrat" or "Republican" has steadily increased from 4.4 percent in 1966 to 33.7 percent in 1992. Like minor-party and decline-to-state registration, this trend reached its peak in last year's election.

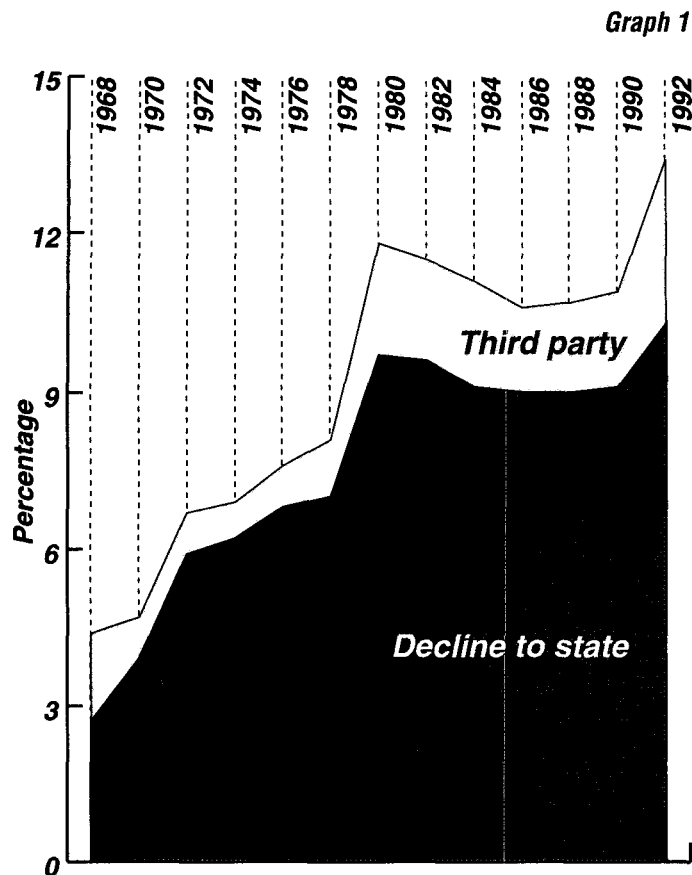
While arguing that some sort of enduring shift in partisan loyalties took place in California in the mid-1980s in the direction of Republicans, scholars of California politics such as Constantini, Kay Lawson of California State Univer-

sity, San Francisco, and James Fay of CSU, Hayward, have acknowledged this turn toward independence as manifested by shifts in registration data. But often, as noted above, survey data regarding party identification are cited to support the Republican cause, and indeed the data do support this case. Republicans have made considerable gains. But if party identification data are looked at in terms of the number of voters supporting neither major party rather than in terms of Republicans versus Democrats (Graph 2) we see a trend much more long term and dramatic than any recent shifts in partisanship.

Because California voters have become increasingly independent, such drastic shifts from Republicans in the late 1980s to Democrats in 1992 are not only possible but very likely to reoccur. Since independents — who again comprise anywhere from 15 to 33 percent of the vote depending on how one looks at it — are more susceptible to short-term electoral factors such as economic conditions, campaigns, and advertisements which influence the vote,

elections may boil down solely to which campaign spends the most, has the most potent message, and makes the fewest mistakes. Democratic and Republican labels, even in legislative elections, have clearly diminished in value. "Coattails" have become non-existent.

California's move away from Republicans and Democrats is perhaps most apparent by recent trends in voting for third parties. In 1968, when the American Independent and Peace and Freedom parties emerged as the right- and left-wing alternatives to centrist politics during the Vietnam War, voters in California gave minor party candidates for the Legislature and Congress an average of just under 3 percent of the vote. This increased to nearly 6 percent in 1980, when the Libertarian Party first qualified for the ballot and fielded an entire slate of candidates. By 1990 the average share given to third parties had mushroomed to nearly 7 percent, and



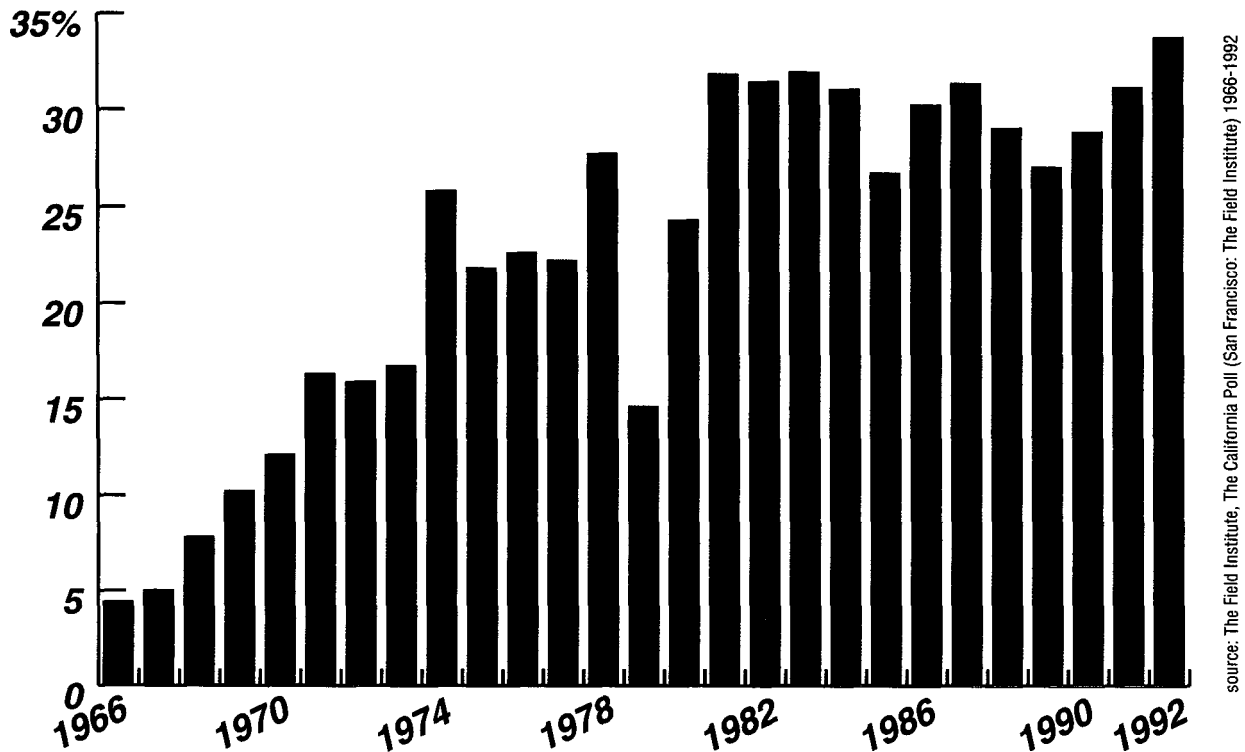
California Voters Registered Either as Decline to State or With Third Parties: 1968-92

source: Secretary of State, Report of Registration 1968-1992

The independent voter

Graph 2

Percentage of California Voters Identifying with Neither Republicans nor Democrats



Advertisement

passed this mark in Assembly and State Senate races in 1992.

Voting for third-party candidates in statewide elections has also increased substantially. In last year's U.S. Senate races, all third-party votes combined accounted for 7.8 percent in the race between Democrat Dianne Feinstein and Republican John Seymour and 9 percent in the dust-up between Democrat Barbara Boxer and Republican Bruce Herschensohn. In the presidential race, gadfly independent Ross Perot gained 21.2 percent in the Golden State, which was above his national average.

The question, of course, is whether this increased share of the vote is enough to affect an election. While third parties still are not likely to win any legislative or congressional seats, they still may have an impact on given races. And in recent years, they have definitely impacted several incumbent and aspiring California politicians, including:

- Doug Bosco, a four-term Democratic member of Congress representing the North Coast, who was defeated 43 percent to 42 percent in 1990 by Republican Frank Riggs. Considered

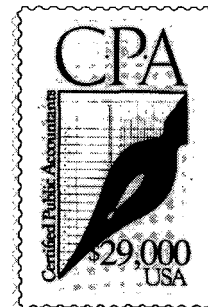
by many to be the upset of the year, it was widely held that the Peace and Freedom candidate, Darlene Comingore, who won 15 percent, split the left vote and kept Bosco from retaining his seat.

- Sunny Mojonner, a four-term Assembly Republican from the San Diego area, who lost by 5 percent to Democrat Dede Alpert in 1990 in a predominant Republican district. While ethics problems and campaign gaffes cost the once popular Mojonner, Libertarian candidate John Murphy took 11 percent of the vote, and perhaps a close re-election from the Republicans.

- Jeff Marston, another San Diego Republican, lost what was considered a potential Republican seat to Democrat Mike Gotch. In a race that separated Marston from Gotch by 617 votes, Libertarian candidate Ed McWilliams garnered over 5000 votes, or 6 percent;

- Democratic Congressman Richard Lehman, who narrowly retained his seat in 1992 after being challenged by Republican Tal Cloud. In a race that was decided by less than 1000 votes, Peace and Freedom candidate Dorothy Wells received 12 percent, or over 12,000 votes;

- Republican Phil Hawkins who in



Don't Waste Your Postage Dollars

Targeted direct mail wins elections AND saves postal dollars.

Below, Tobe & Associates is America's leading targeting specialist and has been at the forefront of segmentation technology since 1971.

Target Below, Tobe for your next label, list or personalized direct mailer. Nothing beats the Below, Tobe edge!



Below, Tobe & Associates, Inc.
Applying computer technology to winning elections since 1971

Los Angeles Office
4745 Alla Rd.
Marina del Rey, CA 90292
310-306-1989

Washington, DC Office
801 N. Fairfax St. #211
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-684-3933

1992 challenged incumbent Democratic Assemblyman Bob Epple in the 56th District in Cerritos. Losing to Epple by 1 percent, Hawkins saw Libertarian candidate Richard Gard receive 5 percent of the vote.

• Senator Bill Craven, a Republican who has served in the Legislature since 1973. Running for re-election in 1990 free from a Democratic challenge, Craven still saw over 33 percent of the total votes go to the Peace and Freedom and Libertarian candidates.

In the fall of 1983, John Simon wrote in the *California Journal* that "in only a few cases, does one [of the third parties] hold a balance of power in a legislative or congressional district." But clearly, times have changed. An average of 7 percent — again, the average share given to third parties — was greater than the margin of difference between Republicans and Democrats in 13 legislative and congressional races in 1990, and 18 races in 1992. In total, these 31 seats were distributed nearly evenly to both parties, with Democrats winning 16 and Republicans 15. Thus, if third parties fielded candidates in these competitive, "swing" districts, they could now play a significant role in who wins the seat, and ultimately in determining which party controls each house of the Legislature and the congressional delegation. Because third-party candidates in Assembly races attract a slightly higher average vote share than do their counterparts in state Senate and congressional elections, their impact would likely be the greatest.

Whatever their impact on elections, third parties provide a constant receptacle for disgruntled Californians to cast protest votes. This may be an apt

metaphor as a ballot cast for a third party candidacy is often considered a "wasted" or "throwaway" vote. But with an unpopular governor and Legislature — combined with increasing anxiety

dissatisfaction with a government run by both parties — third-party candidates will continue to attract many voters looking for alternatives. This creates an unpredictable scenario in many districts, especially in north coast areas where the Peace and Freedom Party and Greens have done well, and in Orange and San Diego counties where the Libertarians have prospered. Furthermore, given the trends in statewide party identification and registration and the current electoral climate, it wouldn't be that farfetched to see a Ross Perot or other independent slate of candidates emerge in California politics.

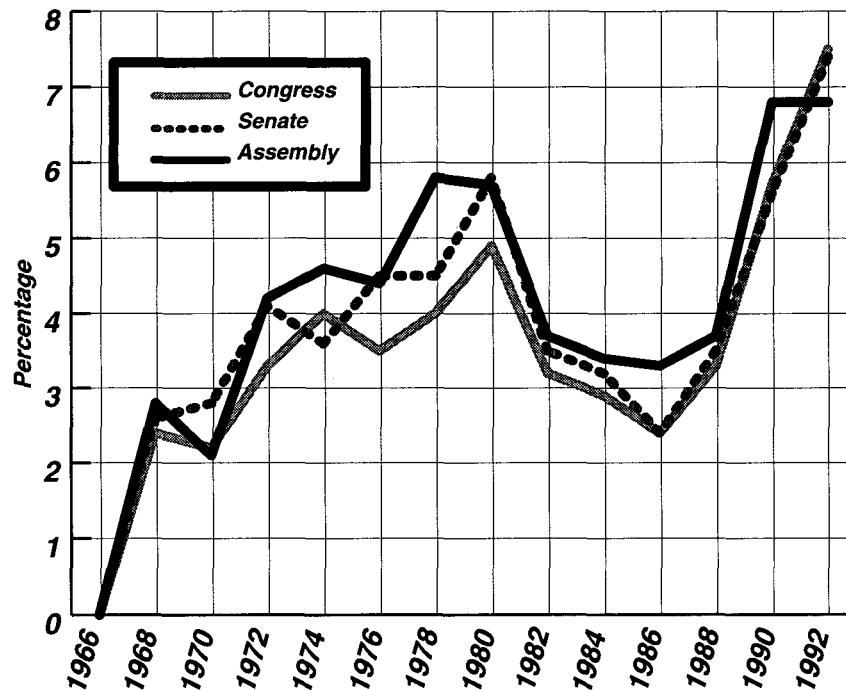
A small path along that route already has been forged by two members of the state Senate — Quentin Kopp of San Francisco and Lucy Killea of San Diego. Both are independents, with Kopp having originally run for the

Legislature as an independent and Killea having left the Democratic Party in 1992 to run for re-election as an independent.

Finally, it should be remembered that California has traditionally been an independent state, with a long history of weak parties, non-partisan elections, a knack for quirky and sometime fringe politics and a fondness for eccentric politicians. Where else but California could figures such as Ronald Reagan, Jerry Brown, S.I. Hayakawa, B.T. Collins, Tom Hayden and others garner such attention? The California electorate today is as volatile as ever, and far from moving in one direction or the other as some have argued, it is likely to go both ways, and may, in fact, continue to search for an alternative route. 🏠

Mean Vote Share for Third Party Candidates in Legislative and Congressional Elections: 1966-92

source: Secretary of State, Statement of Vote, 1966-92



about the economy, education and immigration — the third-party phenomenon in California may be the latest channel of revolt for the politically disgusted. Call it the next chapter in an evolving California story that began in 1978 with Proposition 13 and continued through 1990 and 1992 with stringent term limits and cutbacks in legislative perks, services and salaries.

Equally plausible, however, is that third parties will become a fixture, if not a force, in California politics. No one is suggesting that there will be any Green members of Congress anytime soon, or any Libertarian members of the Assembly. But as long as the aforementioned conditions persist — weak party identification, sluggish economy,

Graph 3

Notebook

NEWSBRIEFS

Election '93

Wilson, Clinton ding vouchers

Governor Pete Wilson ended weeks of speculation last month when he announced his opposition to Proposition 174, the voucher initiative. Wilson, who previously had voiced concern over the measure, based his opposition on a one-page report from the Department of Finance, showing that the voucher plan could drain as much as \$1.65 billion out of state coffers between 1994 and 1997. If passed, the initiative would give parents a \$2600 "voucher" to be paid to the school — public, private or religious — their children attend. The voucher's value is 50 percent of what the state spends to educate a child in a public school. The Finance report estimated that 800,000 students — or 14 percent of all public-school pupils — would have to transfer out of public schools by 1997 to guarantee that the state would save enough money to cover voucher "scholarships" paid to parents of students attending private schools. Current studies show that only 43,000 slots are available in all existing private schools in California.

Wilson declared his opposition in a letter dispatched to Joseph Alibrandi, chairman of ABC, A Better Choice — the main backers of the initiative. The governor wrote that although he supported the notion of parental choice, "It's not a question of whether you believe that market competition is healthy or whether or trust parents to make wise school choices for their children." The question, Wilson insisted, was money; the state can't afford it.

Wilson's opposition was a blow to pro-voucher forces. Said campaign director Ken Khachigian, "The [Finance] analysis gave insufficient evidence of the effect of capital costs avoided by having students go to private schools."

Wilson's announcement followed by one day a speech by President Bill Clinton during which he also advised Californians to reject 174. Addressing an AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco, Clinton said that as governor of Arkansas, he had spent more than a dozen years trying to bring choice and accountability to

his state's schools, but that Proposition 174 "is not the way to get it done." 

— A.G. Block

Election '94

Roberti joins race for treasurer

When California's legendary "Big Daddy," Jesse Unruh, died in 1987, newspapers and airwaves were full of eulogies about Unruh's brilliance as a statesman and a politician. Most of these testimonials centered on Unruh's impact on the institution in which he began his career — the California Legislature. However, Unruh's more lasting impact may have been on the office in which his career ended — state treasurer. In the years between his election as treasurer in 1974 and his death in 1987, Unruh transformed a political backwater into powerful vehicle for shaping policy — and raising campaign money. After only one term as treasurer in the post-Unruh era, Kathleen Brown is already positioned politically and financially to challenge an incumbent governor.

Few things underscore the attraction of the treasurer's office better than the new name which was added last week to the list of current aspirants. Like Unruh, Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti is a veteran of the legislative wars — 27 years in Sacramento, including 13 years as the top dog in the state Senate. Roberti's announcement scrambles a race that already had attracted ex-Democratic Party chief Phil Angelides and GOP Board of Equalization member Matt Fong.

For Roberti, it was up or out, as he carries the distinction of being the first legislator to be involuntarily jettisoned by term-limits. His decision to seek the treasurer's job was, he says, a direct outgrowth of his involvement in budget negotiations as leader of the Senate.

Roberti brings with him a powerful fund-raising reputation and a number of political "chits." Since succeeding Jim Mills as pro tem in 1981, Roberti has kept Democrats in control of the Senate. While less flashy than Unruh — or his Assembly counterpart, Willie Brown — Roberti has

demonstrated considerable political skill. His name also is on the state law banning assault rifles and on legislation toughening legislative ethics standards.

Roberti's rivals see him as vulnerable because of the one claim he can't make — that he's a political outsider. And while never personally accused of scandal or wrongdoing, Roberti did elevate to leadership positions three Democratic senators — Paul Carpenter, Joseph Montoya, and Alan Robbins — later convicted on corruption charges. Both Angelides and Fong consider Roberti's experience a liability.

Regardless of Roberti's strengths and weaknesses as a candidate, it's clear his entry into the race for treasurer has sent ripples through the Democratic Party as it sets its line-up for '94. And the man standing closest to those ripples is Angelides, who suddenly finds himself in much the same position as did another Democratic tyro in the 1974 treasurer's race. A young apparatchik named Gray Davis was all clear to run for treasurer that year, only to be swept aside at the last minute by Unruh's. While Roberti is far less well-known in the state than was Unruh, he still has broader name recognition than the former party chair, especially in vote-rich Southern California.

Angelides remains confident about his chances because he is no slouch in the "chit" department. As party chairman, he helped just about every Democrat on the ballot, including Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, both of whom have endorsed him. In fact, Angelides has already amassed an impressive string of endorsements and insists they've all stood by him, although he concedes Roberti's announcement has made it difficult for some senators.

Watching all the Democrats' tribulations from a safe distance is Matthew Fong, the 30-year-old Republican who currently stands unopposed in the GOP primary. The prospect of a contested Democratic primary brings a smile to Fong and his handlers, who would doubtless have been more worried about a straight-up contest with either Angelides or Roberti. His name-identification is also helped by being the adopted son of Democrat March Fong Eu, who was

elected secretary of state the same year Jesse Unruh was first elected treasurer. He also can handle himself in the fund-raising area, having raised \$1.2 million in his unsuccessful 1990 bid for controller. 🏠

— Steve Scott

Election '96

Prez primary moved

In 1972 a hot-headed young Democratic assemblyman named Willie Lewis Brown Jr. shouted for the national convention to "give me back my delegation" — a cry that helped George McGovern win the Democratic presidential nomination. In addition to being a milestone in Brown's career, the '72 convention also marked the last time California mattered in the presidential nominating sweepstakes. For the last two decades, the nation's largest state has been largely irrelevant in picking who will run for the nation's top job. The reason can be summed up in one word: timing.

California holds its presidential primary in June — the same day as Ohio and after just about every other state in the nation. Since candidates these days are picked in the primaries, the winner is usually decided by the time California voters get their turn at the plate.

Well, hang on to your straw hats, because the presidential tornado is about to swirl west of the Sierra. A bill by Fresno Democrat Jim Costa (AB 2196) places the 1996 primary on the fourth Tuesday in March — March 26, to be exact. The bill, signed into law last month by Governor Pete Wilson, also moves the primary date for all other offices and places California between Super Tuesday (the large bloc of Southern primaries) and New York, held on the first Tuesday in April.

Costa had introduced the measure four times before, but each effort was swallowed up by short-term strategic calculations. Everything from the impact on initiatives to the impact on redistricting was used as a reason to hold off the switch.

The calculus began to add up a little differently after Bill Clinton won the presidency and carried California. Suddenly, the GOP faced a competitive '96 primary in a state where victory was no longer automatic, and California Republicans found it in their interest to have an impact. Democrats, meanwhile, found that they no longer needed to be as concerned about helping a Pete Wilson presidential bid, since it was clear he

was going to have enough trouble winning re-election as governor. It's hard to find anyone who doesn't think the change will have a dramatic impact on national politics. Suddenly, California will become a crucial proving ground — not just because of its size, but because of the diversity of its population.

Some questions linger, however. What, for instance, will the impact be on underfinanced candidates who face a daunting race in a state with not one, but three mammoth media markets? Then there are all those other campaigns taking place underneath the marquee presidential race. A shorter presidential primary season also means less time for primaries in legislative and congressional races — and less time to mount primary challenges to incumbents.

Ultimately, however, the lure of actually having an impact on the presidential nominating process proved too enticing for the state's long-ignored political leaders.

When all is said and done, the big winners could be California-based reporters and pundits. All those network gab-a-thons featuring journalists and eggheads will have to clear a seat for some California journalists and eggheads. But even they won't be celebrating as much as those who make their livings guiding political fortunes. "This bill," says veteran Democratic guru Joe Cerrell, "is a full-employment act for political consultants." 🏠

— Steve Scott

Legislature

Assembly rookies give themselves high marks

They arrived with limited terms, fresh faces and lots of big talk. Riding a wave of windy populism, every one of the 27 freshman Assembly members came to Sacramento this January intent upon taking the place by storm. All were ready to shame all those ossified crone incumbents and show them how to *really* get things done.

And then, the session started.

If the experience of rookie legislators in 1993 proved anything, it proved that the road to good intentions often runs through hell. Accustomed in many cases to a more leisurely pace, most rookies were staggered by the workload, the blizzard of constituent complaints and the fund-raising grind. Many members of this year's freshman class ended the session feeling like tourists who'd been duped by a bogus travel brochure.

And yet, most also believe they were able to have an impact, both in substance and in style. "In this time of transition from a legislature with veterans to a Legislature of newcomers, I think we are capable of taking that leadership," says Republican Jan Goldsmith of Poway.

Regarding their experiences this year, most newcomers point to the stylistic changes they've influenced. For one thing, the rookies helped to create an "On-Time Caucus," intent upon closing the gap between real time and "legislative time." By the end of the legislative year, most daily floor sessions in the Assembly were starting within 15 minutes of their scheduled start-time.

Rookies also credit themselves with adding a sense of urgency to the normally laborious legislative routine. "There is a different attitude among freshman members about how the process should work and about making sure that people have the information necessary to make good judgments," says Democrat Debra Bowen of Torrance.

Democratic newcomers were given some excellent committee assignments. Valerie Brown of Sonoma was tapped for Assembly Ways and Means, while Diane Martinez of Huntington Park chaired Assembly Elections and Reapportionment. "The senior members were very aware of the fact that they needed to bring the freshmen along as quickly as possible," says Los Angeles Democrat Louis Caldera.

Rookies also lay claim to some substantial victories. Caldera shepherded through one of the session's most discussed bills — mandating that all children wear helmets when riding a bicycle. Another high-profile fight won by a rookie was Bowen's bill to open up legislative information to computer users with access to a modem. Both were signed by the governor.

Despite all this self-congratulation, however, life was far from smooth for the rookie class. Some — notably Republicans Pete Knight of Palmdale and Kathleen Honeycutt of Hesperia — were tripped up by their own political naivete, mousing off with racial stereotypes that earned them bi-partisan criticism. Martinez' reference to Senate pro tem David Roberti — an Italian American — as "the godfather" earned her a personal scolding from Roberti.

Inexperience also caused some rookies to push too hard, with the result being that they were spanked down by the more powerful, and more savvy, leadership. A joint campaign-reform package sponsored by Bowen and Gold-

smith was dispatched to the wastecan in its first policy committee.  — Steve Scott

Water

State may lose control of Bay-Delta

The federal government has formally announced its intention to set environmental standards for the San Francisco Bay-Delta, a move that not only affects large water users such as cities and farmers throughout California but moves power over water policy from the state to the federal government. Standards for the region, originally set by California, were rejected by the Environmental Protection Agency in 1991 because they didn't adequately protect the estuary's fish and wildlife, according to the EPA. Now that EPA has said it will step in and set its own guidelines, regulation over California's largest estuary may be out of the state's hands and into the federal government's.

The announcement came after a

settlement was reached in a law suit filed by environmental groups against the federal government last April. The groups — including the Sierra Club and the Natural Resources Defense Council — alleged that the federal government was required to step in and set water-quality standards for the environmentally sensitive area because the state's interim standards were deemed inadequate. Rather than battle the case out in court, the federal agency agreed to set standards for the estuary by this December.

Another case, also settled by the federal government, will change the rules governing the flow of Western irrigation water subsidies. It is expected to alter how much water Central Valley farmers receive and how much they pay, and also represents major changes to California water users, especially agriculture.

EPA's decision to set water-quality standards in the Bay-Delta was expected by California environmentalists, who long have warned that standards set by the Wilson administration were inadequate to meet federal guidelines. But the decision does more than simply set standards for the area; it is a serious first step in reshaping water policy for Cali-

fornia by taking the state out of the process. It may put out of business the state's Bay-Delta Oversight Council, created last year to bring together various water interests. Environmentalists left the table after complaining that the council was too one-sided towards cities and farmers.

The statewide implications from the shift especially effect agricultural interests and cities south of San Francisco. High standards for the Bay-Delta mean less water can be removed from the estuary — eventually meaning less water shipped from Northern California to the thirsty cities and farmers south of the Bay. Congress placed some restrictions on water used in California through a 1992 law that affected the federal Central Valley Project that supplies water to many state farmers and cities.

Not everyone is enthusiastic about the changes. "I'm very disappointed," said Democratic Congressman Calvin Dooley of Visalia. "[Federal officials'] mantra has been to bring all the parties together, [but] one of the first things they do is negotiate a settlement that excludes the farmers." 

— Mary Beth Barber

advertisement

New from California Journal!

California Journal WEEKLY is the new newsletter about political life in the nation's largest state. Reported and written by the editors of **California Journal**, it has the feel of a newsletter but the impact of a news magazine. Information now in **CJ's** monthly **NEWSFILE** will be combined with in-depth coverage and analysis from committee hearings, floors of the Legislature, the governor's office and, perhaps most important, the halls of the State Capitol. Also covered are special elections and campaign preparations for 1994.

No one whose livelihood depends on events in the Capitol can afford to be without this new, comprehensive, lively and insightful weekly.

With twelve, 8 1/2 x 11 inch pages each week, **California Journal WEEKLY** includes:

- a lead story on an important development, major issue, political brawl or feature of Capitol life;
- news roundup: short reports from committee rooms, the floors of the Senate and Assembly and the governor's "corner office;"
- a gossip column: who's doing what to whom;
- statistic of the week about California or its government;
- profile of the week: public player, be-

hind-the-scenes powerhouse or newcomer on the rise;

- editorial roundup from the state's newspapers;
- voting records: key votes of the week;
- back-of-the-book listings of gubernatorial and legislative appointments, changes in lobbyist registrations and state reports;
- a weekly calendar of events, including fund raisers.

California Journal WEEKLY is mailed First Class each week. The price is \$295 for 50 issues.

cjWeekly a California Journal publication
October 18, 1993

Public financing of campaigns:
Back on the road?



Inside:

Articles:
1. **Statewide election '93**
2. **Vote buying**
3. **Public money**

Features:
1. **Inside the Capitol**
2. **Ballot box**
3. **Public money**

Profile:
1. **Statewide election '93**

Week's Pay:
1. **Statewide election '93**

Free Sample Copy:

Call (916) 444-2840 and ask for a free sample copy. We'll be glad to send you one!

Washington

PERSPECTIVE

BY LARRY LIEBERT

Huffington

Michael Huffington ran for Congress from Santa Barbara last year with \$5 million of his own Texas oil money and a promise not to become an entrenched member of the House establishment. But even with that warning, his constituents may have been surprised that he has imposed a one-term limit on his own stay as their representative.

"I TOLD EVERYONE IN THE DISTRICT THAT I would run for no longer — and I underline that — than six years," the lanky multimillionaire said in an interview. "I never said I would serve six years. I'm not a career politician. I don't want to be. I came here to make a difference. It didn't take me very long in the House, a few months really, to realize this place is not the way it should be."

And so Huffington is off and running for a job where he maintains he can make a difference: the Senate seat now held by Democrat Dianne Feinstein. Huffington is certainly emerging as the early favorite in next June's Republican primary. Far-far-right Representative William Dannemeyer is saying he'll run, but a potentially more formidable alternative to Huffington, Representative Christopher Cox, has decided not to take on Huffington — or Huffington's bankbook.

Last year, Huffington came out of nowhere politically to knock off incumbent Robert Lagomarsino in a bitter Republican primary. "Don't be fooled!" screamed a Lagomarsino mailer. "Stop an Outsider from Buying this Election." Huffington attracted national attention with his record-breaking spending on a House race. But he insists, "You can't buy an election. What you can do is get your name out and get the message out. If the message is ringing with the voters, that's how you win."

The message Huffington delivered was an anti-establishment, anti-Washington manifesto along the lines of the pitch made by that other self-financed populist, Ross Perot. "Perot and I have been compared because we're both businessmen," Huffington says. Pointedly comparing Perot's on-off-on presidential campaign last year with his own victory over Lagomarsino, Huffington adds, "I did stay in that race. I did complete it, and I'm now here."

Huffington insists that he transcends mundane party politics: "I said I was going to put America first over the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, and I believe I'm doing that." He's a pure Reaganite in his ardor for lower taxes and less government spending. Huffington maintains he made his decision to challenge Feinstein only after she voted for President Clinton's budget package, with its tax increases.

"They call it deficit reduction, and it's a joke. It's a

misnomer and a lie," he says. Feinstein, he says, put "loyalty to the president over loyalty to the citizens of California. I look at Dianne Feinstein and I see a career politician of the greatest magnitude. All she has done is run."

On issues other than the economy, Huffington insists he can't be pigeon-holed: "We don't live in boxes with fine, straight lines. Life is full of gray." Huffington portrays himself as a live-and-let-live kind of guy, although he has his own somewhat fractured way of putting it: "I'm an Episcopalian. I go to monasteries for retreats, to get away and be with God. My God says, 'Love thy neighbor and accept all human beings who are good people and recognize evil when there is evil.' Now, I mean somebody who shoots somebody or somebody who takes advantage or molests some kids, that those people should be punished. But we should be more charitable in our own country."

He believes that abortion is a right but opposes federally funded abortions for the poor. He supports prayer in schools. He believes that "just because someone is gay they shouldn't be denied the right to serve in the armed forces" so long as they don't engage in "gay conduct." He proclaims himself "a big believer in traditional families. I believe in a husband and wife and kids."

Huffington's wife is at least as interesting a figure as he is. She is Arianna Stassinopoulos, a controversial and successful biographer of Maria Callas and Pablo Picasso; the author of an antifeminist book and of a dense tome on the spiritual wasteland of western civilization (which her husband unintentionally calls her "intellectual tomb"); a close friend of Ann Getty and Barbara Walters; and a former social companion of Mort Zuckerman and Jerry Brown.

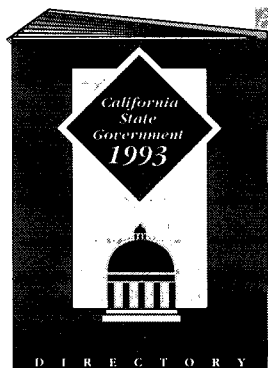
"MY WIFE IS ONE OF THE SWEETEST human beings in the entire world," says Huffington. "She has friends in both parties." He dismisses her reputation as a fixture of high society, saying "That was only because of a couple of years in New York. She hasn't been that way since I met her."

As for himself, Huffington takes a stab at rebutting his reputation as a blue-blood. "My family didn't have that much money," says the son of an oil company geologist who became an oil tycoon. "We lived in motel rooms. I had no dreams that I would ever be a congressman. I had no dreams I would ever be wealthy. I was like every other kid looking at frogs and riding my bicycle.... I earned my first \$1 million by myself with a \$1000 investment and hard work." Only when pressed does he acknowledge that he did so by joining a company that his father started. ■

1993 California Directories

These three directories are indispensable tools for corporate relations officers, researchers, lobbyists, press, and government agencies that need to know who's who in California government and public affairs. The California Directories provide a quick way to identify the key players in state and local policy-making.

"The indispensable government reference tool."



State Government

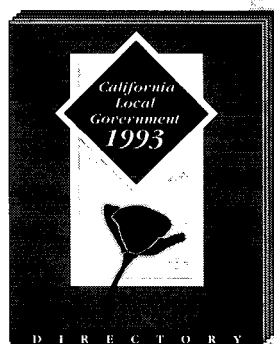
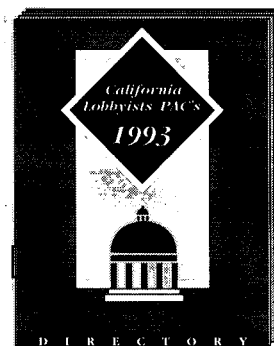
Looseleaf with Quarterly Update service

Names, photographs, short biographies, district descriptions, district and capital addresses, phone numbers, party affiliation, committees, and staff of the Legislature. Descriptions of state departments, boards and commissions and their top staff. Indexed with over 2600 listings. Over 170 pages, 8 1/2 x 11".

Lobbyists/PACs

New 1993 edition

Name, address and phone numbers of nearly 1,000 lobbyists, 300 firms, 2,000 employers and 1,500 political action committees. 225 pages, 8 1/2 x 11".



Local Government

New 1993 edition

Every city and county with its address and phone number and top elected and appointed officials. Over 9,000 listings, 300 pages, 8 1/2 x 11".

Order Form

1993 California Directories

- ☐ State Government, \$125.00 ☐ Lobbyists/PACs, \$40.00 ☐ Local Government, \$60.00
☐ All Three, \$195.00 (a saving of 15%)

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

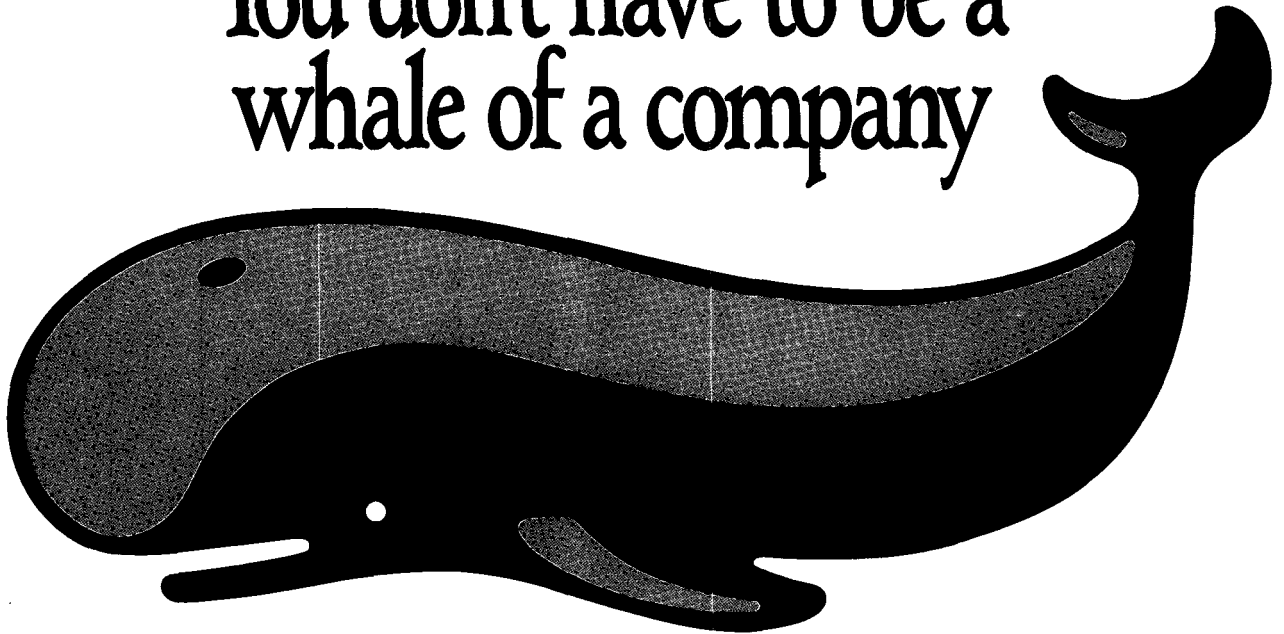
Telephone # _____ / _____

Please add 7.75% sales tax plus \$2.75 handling to all orders.

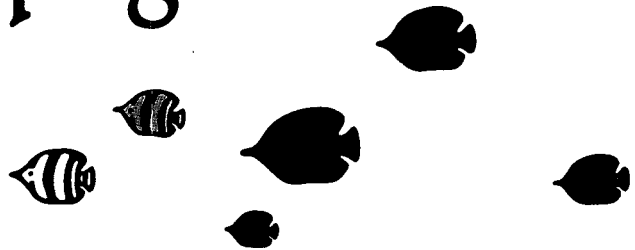
Send check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to **California Journal, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814**. For immediate orders or more information call 916/444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You don't have to be a whale of a company



to get a whale of a dental program.



You can be just a minnow.

If your group has two, ten, a hundred or more, there's a Delta Dental program to fit your budget.

We have a basic fee-for-service program for as few as two employees, for just

\$10 a month per person.

Larger groups can choose a Delta Dental HMO, PPO, or fee-for-service program. Several of these have two-year rate guarantees.

Large or small, you can

have the quality, the reliability, and the cost management that come with the biggest name in dental coverage.

Δ DELTA DENTAL
We have a plan to keep you smiling.